

# VOX REGIS.

*by J. Scott (1524)*



HAT I HAUE FORMERLY written in that Treatise called *Vox Dei* as it hath bene most properlie applied to the honor of his Maiestie, the gracious Prince of Wales, the illustrious, Duke of Buckingham and the happie Earle of Holderness, with other worthies, who haue in

this late time of extreme necessitie stept forth for the rescue of our Lawes, liues, religion, and State from imminent danger; soe it may serue either wholly to excuse, or at least to extenuate a fact of mine, which some are pleased to tearme a fault.

For not long since beholding with grieve the increase of Poperie in the Land, and the causes thereof, together with the great danger of the State thereby: (of all which I had bene made sensible by the prouisions, cautions, edicts, and Lawes of the State, framed, and published, and sometimes executed against them with much greater

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care

care and circumspection, then those of former Kings, for the destruction of *Wolues*) I supposed it my duty, by all meanes to ioyne with the State, in disclosing the nests and covertes of these. And therefore obseruing herewith the generall feares, discontents, and grieuances of the best affected in the State, by reason of infinite disorders, which like weedes ouergrew all the good flowers of the garden, and gave shelter and reliefe, to hide, and shadow these from the eye of Iustice; I collected such *Passages of State*, as obuiously presented themselues; together with the peoples censure and comment made vpon them; with intention, that they might come to his Maiesties sight: Because I thought (as the King himselfe hath since professed publicly in Parliament) that all those mischiefes grew vp in darknesse, whilst they were not seene by supreme Authority; and would (with the Basiliske) die, as soone as they were discovered by soueraigne prouidence.

Pro. 20. 8. According to that of *Salomon*. *A King that sitteth in the Throne of Iudgement, chaseth away all euill with his eyes.*

But whilst I thus thought, and thus did, the difficulty appeared greater then at first; and I saw no readie meanes how I might safely convey this *Mirror of the Multitude* into his Maiesties hands: Because the things were so monstrous and deformed, and of such nature, and concerned such membres, as they could not safely be discovered, and very hardly cured by any, except by him onely, who hath power to cure the *Kings Euill*. Besides, I considered, that perhaps all the Guards placed about Princes, are not euer intended for their personall security, but that sometime they are more carefully guarded from their friends, and from truth, then from their enemies, and from falsehood.

Whilst



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Whilſt therefore thus I delayed, and droue away much time, by reaſon of the danger; at length *Necceſſity* preſt me forward, when I beheld all things in ſuch a height of extremity, as (in my iudgement) without ſpeedie remedie, ſtood readie for combuſtion, and next to ruine.

Then aſhamed to haue ouer loued my perſonall liberty ſo long, that for it I ſhould neglect the liberty of my conſcience and of my Countrey, I gaue way to the publiſhing of that *Pamphlet*, which paſſeth vnder the name of *Vox populi*; as containing the common-people's private and retired diſcourſes. Pro. 21. 23

Against this, (euē as I feared not onely *Goliath* and the *Philiftims*, enemies of the State, but the *Iſraelites* themſelues; yea, my brethren, of one Faith; my friends, familiars, acquaintance, oppoſed themſelues, with a violent cenſure; and paſſionate purſuite of the vnknowne Author. Whilſt his Maieſtie (as I haue credibly heard related) beheld it more indifferently, as one that doubted (perhaps) much of it might be true. And therefore began to enquire, as *Philip* of *Macedon* in another caſe, whether it was *Nicanor's* fault that he ſpake euill, or whether *Nicanor* had iuſt cauſe ſo to ſpeake. But Whilſt theſe things

were maturely debating, and poore I, labouring to hide my ſelfe from the Enemy, behold the *Philiftims* found my *Heyſer*, and ſo vnfolded my *Riddle*. Aſſoone as I was ſcene, it was no need to bid me runne, (as they ſay) for life; eſpecially when by a *Dream* I was warned of the danger, and willed to make haſte; and led, as it were, by the hand, like *Lot* out of *Sodome*. Then I found it true, which *Elihu* ſaith to *Iob*; *God ſpeakerh once and twiſe, and one ſeeth it not, in dreames and viſions of the night, when ſleepe falleth vpon men, and they ſleepe vpon their beds.* Iudg. 14. II. Iob. 33. 14.

beds. Then he openeth the eares of men, euen by their directions which he had sealed, That he might cause man to turne away from his enterprize, and that he might hide the pride of man, and keepe backe his soule from the pit, and that his life should not passe by the sword. Thus it pleased God to deale with me, giuing me warning by a Dreame, (in obseruation whereof, as I would not be superstitious; so in the neglect thereof, I would not be presumptuous) foure or fīue times iterated the same night to rise and be gone; for there were such as sought after me for euill, and I must giue way to the present time. Whilst I rose vp, and was musing of this strange and importunate Dreame, a more certaine warning seconded the first; and with *David*, I heard them knocke at the doore, who willed to make haste.

1. Sam. 19.  
12.

I fled not from his Maiestie; for whither should I flie on earth, to a more mercifull Throne? Let others appeale to *Cesar* and to *Rome*, I will not. I fled not for feare of guilt; as one that thought I had deserued euill: but I fled for feare of a violent and potent Aduersaire, *who goeth about like a roaring Lyon, seeking whom he may deuoure*, and hath many adherents little lesse cruell then himselfe.

1. Pet. 5. 8.

What a State might doe vpon a sudden; and whether I should be thought any better then dust to be wiped off, I knew not. Of my enemies hate I was resolved; of their generall combination to all bloody purposes; euen sealing such contracts of *perdition*, with the Sacrament of Christs blood, that scale of *saluation*, experience had taught me not to doubt, and I had some secret hints in this particular to assure it, whether any friend would shew themselves for me in a *storme*, where they use to leane better

Pro. 27. 4.  
Act. 23. 12

*better men*; and whether, if they would haue appeared, they had beene able to doe me good or no at that instant, I had some cause to feare. *I looked vpon my right hand, and beheld, but there was none that would know me, refuge fayled me : no man cared for my soule.* Wherefore I made a vertue of necessitie, and God being my guide, I escaped for the present, to giue time to second cogitations.

Since that time I vnderstand a various Censure hath past vpon what I did, according to the various disposition of the Censurers.

I passe by with contempt the aspersions of such as spit venyme : I expect no better from the brood of Vipers. Pro. 30. 14  
Renel. 6 3.

Locusts that are bred in the smoke of darknesse and superstition by blind Deuotion, may sting (hauing the same power with Scorpions) but not vnto death, that effect is restrained, where they finde Gods seale on the forthed. *The causelesse curse fals on the curser.* I know the *Dragon* hunts the *woman* and all hers, and so me : our Sauour could not scape his assault. If he attempted the head, what shall the body, what shall the heele, what shall a haire of the body expect? This troubles me not; nay, *this comforts me rather.* But that which most afflicts me is, that men, who say they loue the King, and honour him as I doe, that loue his Royall Yssue, and honour them as I doe, that loue the Common-wealth, and wish it as well as I doe; that loue the Reformed and true Religion, and would as willingly fight and die for it, as I professe readinesse to doe: that these (I say) notwithstanding all this, disliked what I had written, and censured me for so doing. I could not therefore choose, but be sensible of a friends stroke, & with *Cesar* in the Capitoll cry out, *Et tu Brute?*



Such Obiections as I haue met withall, I here labour to answere : If any more strong, lie more close to take me at aduantage, long may they so lye and rest, neuer to rise againe to charge me with reproofe.

The first Obiection is, *That I haue beene forgetfull of the Kings honour in some Passages.* Alas! so am I of Gods honour in all, who yet pardons me from day to day. But I cannot expect this from mortall man, though neuer so mercifull : I trembled therefore, when I heard this obiection. I sought first mine owne bosome diligently, to see if there were any secret treason lurking, or any other thing that might looke like it. I found nothing but plaine truth and duty there : Yet I sighed to thinke, that perhaps these (as they had wont) might be called Treason in some places, by some persons, and then it was enough to condemne them. Then I examined the Booke curiously and diligently, which (for ought I could see) was as innocent as my heart. Vicious eyes may bring the disease with them. For Ielousie, Enuie, and Pride, haue the laundies, and all things which they see, lookes of their owne colour and complexion. As wee finde in euery wall such fancies as are before drawne in the imagination : so here *Vox populi* must needs, like another *filius populi*, speake Treason, because Preiudice, Imagination, and Detraction are pleased to say so, or wilfully mistake the person of the speaker, whom notwithstanding I haue fained to speake *English* as modestly, as the *Romaine Catholike* tongue would admit. But for mine owne part, if therein I haue iustly offended, I will doe execution vpon my selfe, and with *Mutius*, burne off my hand, for daring to hit, where it should hide and defend, as he did his, for missing where he would haue had it hit. Whilst my heart is free,

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I am the more confident, but withall must craue pardon: if whilst I vndertake to personate the most bitter and malicious enemies, I speake not in all tearmes as the most modest friend could wish. Those which know any thing, know what they haue printed in *Louane*, and playcd at *Bruxels* and *Antwerpe*, and prated at *London*, and through all the Land with safety: so that whilst I for giuing intelligence of this, am in perill, they that doe this, are in safety, and perhaps none of the least persons, whose censure I am afraid of.

A second Obiection is, *That vain-glory mooued mee to write*. Surely so to doe, had beene vaine glory indeed: and I had beene as vaine in doing what I did, vpon such a ground, as they vainely object this against me without shadow of a ground. The concealing of my name, the hiding of my selfe, euen whilst others would haue taken the title vpon them, and when there appeared no cause of keeping close, might witnesse for me, that I was loth to be seene, loth to be knowne. And is this the customarie cariage of vain-glorious men? I trow not. The Pamphlet lay long by me in silence, and had still slept, if necessity had not awaked both me and it. But thus it is easie for *Enuie* to traduce the most free and innocent conception. And those that say thus by me, are as ready, perhaps, to cast the like aspersion vpon such worthy Commonwealths-men, as with his Maiesties good liking, the peoples generall applause, to Gods glorie, the States good, and their owne personall honours, haue liberally and freely layd open the Grieuances of all good men, and with solid arguments inueighed against the *Abuses* of the *Time*, presented to their censure and correction, in the high *Courts of Parliament*. But may this Land be still

bleſſed with the happineſſe to haue ſuch as dare doe thus in the Pulpit, in Councell, at Court, and in the Countrey; neglecting in the meane time, whether theſe Dogges barke and ſnarle, or fawne, and wagge their tayles. It is all one to *vertue*, what *Enuie* and *Vice* imagineth; ſince their praife is a puniſhment; their reproches, honorable badges. The more arrowes they ſhoote, the better it is for armed Innocence, who walkes and fights vnder their ſhadow, as vnder a cloud or a canopic in the ſcorching heate of the day.

And yet as all humane actions haue their mixture of imperfections; ſo I neither arrogate to my ſelfe, or to that which I did, any immunitie from Ignorance and Error: but muſt, and doe freely confeſſe mine owne folly and frailtie, magnifying in the meane time, the power and goodneſſe of God, who was pleaſed to vſe ſo poore an inſtrument in ſo great a worke. And I ſee his goodneſſe towards me, in that my errors are not paſt by either without obſeruation, or ſome ſmall correction. For as it was impoſſible to fleſh and bloud, but I ſhould mingle ſome pride of heart, proper to my nature, with that which was Gods, and proper vnto him: and ſo either touch vpon ſpleene, or vain-glorie, or imagination in ſome particular, and inuolue the generall in ſuſpition: ſo God hath chaſtiſed me with a temporarie baniſhment, and turned the fauour of his Maieſtie and the State from me for the preſent, which otherwiſe (doubtleſſe) would haue looked towards me for good. And yet that neither I (nor others by my example) ſhould be wholly diſcouraged from good intentions, God hath ſtirred vp mine enemies to enquire after my name, that ſo, though I would, I cannot lie hid, nor loſe that reward which followes him that flies from it.



it; the honour to bee knowne a faithfull seruant to God and my Countrey. Wherein my poore example is vsed, to stirre vp and checke the backwardnesse of others in the Church and Common-wealth, who hauing greater abilitie to vndertake such a worke, haue neither dared to leade me the way, nor yet to follow me leading them; nor once to lend a hand to rescue me from the present danger the pursues me, but rather made hast to pursue me themselues with reproches.

A third Obiection was, *The Danger of the State, because I bewrayed the vweaknesse thereof to the Enemy*: as if our strength consisted in being hid. Alas! hath our state any more intelligent persons, then such as are ill affected to Religion, and so as ill as Spies and Intelligencers to Rome? Are not many of these employed in great place? cannot euery woman, euery boy poynt at them, whilst men dare not? & whilst we see them, doe not you thinke they see vs? Besides, is not such a *person* employed here for forraine affaires, as is cull'd and pickt out amongst a million for that purpose? And because he could not be matched, was returned the second time, rewarded with an addition of Honour for the first seruice? That thus he might be sure to vnderstand more in our State, then any of our Natiues, as his multiplicite, and certaintie, and excellencie of choyce Intelligence exceeds theirs? They which doubt either our *Enemies* wit to finde out and obserue aduantages, or their wealth to vnlocke and open secrets, or their dexteritie to pursue Plots, may ouersee the true and substantiall cause, and inuent a false and seeming one. Woodcockes onely thinke themselues safe, when their heads are hidden: but wise-men then onely are secure, when they clearly see their enemies strength and  

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fulnesse

**Ecd. 8. 18.** fulnesse, and their owne wants and weaknesse. *Doe no secret thing before a stranger (saith Siracides) for thou canst not tell what he goeth about.*

A fourth Obiection is, *That the Plot or Frame was a fiction, and therefore deserved censure.* Why, who profest otherwise? was there any that published it for a certaine truth? Was it not called *Vox populi*, to note it onely probable, and possible, and likely, not historical? (I meane, for so much as concerned the Plot.) And might I not borrow a *Spanish* name or two, as well as *French*, or *Italian*, to grace this Comedie with stately Actors? Or must they onely be reserued for Kingly Tragedies? why not *Gondomar*, as well as *Hieronimo*, or Duke *d'Alva*? And why not *Philip*, as well as *Peter*, or *Alfonso*, or *Cesar*? Or why might not I make as bold with them, as they with our *blacke Prince*, or *Henry* the eighth, or *Edward* the sixth, or *Queene Elizabeth*, or King *James*, or the King and *Queene of Bohemia*? If this be censurable for being a fiction, it is surely for lacke of a foole, which (they say) Comedies should not be without: and for a neede, this wittie Obiector may supply the place, if he enuie me the honour to become a foole alone, lest some of our Stage-keepers should be thought capable of that part, and forced by necessity to furnish it at their owne cost. The truth is, those that vnderstand any thing of *Spanish Affaires*, know such a course is obserued vpon returne of Ambassadors, (if we may credit Histories or Trauellers) and perhaps thus it was: or worse: I pray God the successe prooue it a fiction, and not to be too true.

A fift Obiection is, *That I wrote nothing but stale and common things, what euery one saw, and spake of.* I hope one of these Obiections will answere another, and saue

me a labour : for if this that they say be true, (as indeed it is for the matter therein deliuered) then what cause is there of displeasure ? Am I worthy to be punished for informing the State, of that which euery man thinkes, and speakes in their ordinarie discourse ? I neuer profest to publish any singular conception of mine owne. The Plot or Frame of the Discourse I borrowed out of *Spaine*, it was not mine owne : though I wish with all my heart the practise thereof, so farre as concernes the account of Ambassadors, and other Officers, were translated into *England*. The Matter contained within, was, what all the people spake, (whether *Romane* or *Reformed Catholiques*) as one man : neither was this mine owne. If all should be punished that are guiltie with me, and none but the innocent in this kinde should punish me, I suppose there should none be left to throw a stone at me, but I should be quit by the censure of my accusers.

Sixtly, it is obiected, That I medled with a forraigne Ambassadour, which I should not haue done. To this I answer, First, that I did not touch an Ambassadour present, but one that had beene : for all that I sayd, was of the time past, when he was gone (God be praised) from *England*, and returned to *Spaine*, giuing vp the account of his Ambassage past : So that then he was no Ambassadour. Again, suppose he were then an Ambassadour, yet I did not medle with him as with an Ambassadour, but as an incrocher vpon the Lawes and Liberties of our State, which exclude forrainers. For whilst an Ambassadour intrudes himselfe into things that concerne not his Commission ; such as are, the Government of our State, Church and people ; the disposition of Offices, and the like : he becomes in these things pri-



uate, and makes himse<sup>l</sup>fe at least subiect to the censure of all men, who are wronged by his incro<sup>u</sup>ching: though his person be sacred and safe from punishment, in regard of his Master, whom he represents in publike Actions, though not in priuate undertakings.

Defence  
of the  
right of  
Kings, fol.  
265.

When that Donation of the Crown of England made by king *Iohn* to the *Pope*, is prest by the *Romish champions*, His Maie<sup>st</sup>ie answers. *A king neither may in right, nor can by power trans-nature his Crowne, impaire the Maie<sup>st</sup>ie of his Kingdome, or leane his Royall dignitie lesse free to his Heire apparant, or next successor, then he receiued the same of his predecessor. Much lesse, by any dishonorable capitulations, by any unworthy contracts, can he degrade his posteritie, & bring his people vnder the greiuous burden of tributes & taxes to a forraine Prince.* Kings then cannot dispose of their crowns without their Peeres & peoples consent: and therefore that gift or resignation is voyd. And as they cannot dispose of their Crowns, so not of their liberties: and therefore the Parliament makes free-Denizens, and incorporates members into the State by publike Acts, and not the King alone. But where an Ambassadour intrudes himse<sup>l</sup>fe, hauing neither the allowance of that state, nor the king (but out of a presumption of his own faction, and the greatnesse of his Master) is it not time for such as loue their King & country to oppose him what they may, by giuing notice? as Dogges barke at strangers in the night, though all be not Theeues that come to our Houses, and knocke at our doores. And whilst I see Ambassadors haue bin spies, and haue bred much mischief: and that *Dauid* were suspected to be such of the *Philistines*, why may not our *Dauid* much rather iustly suspect theirs; & though not clip their coates, yet clip their Courts and Chappels somewhat shorter?

2 Sam. 10.  
3.4

Seuenthly,

Seuenthly, it is Obiected, *I haue meddled with a King, with whom we haue league.* I suppose, if I haue done this at all, it is verie sparingly, and in things notorious to all: and yet if I had beene bolder, Truth might haue borne me out. For it is the same King, that listened to Practices against our King and State, if we may say, what all see, and what some confesse against themselves. It is the same King in the house, I might say, the head and heart of whose Ambassadour, that banne of the Emperours against the Kings Children, was bred hatched, and published. And the like may be said of the Nation, that it is the same Nation, who hath often sought to swallow vs by secret practises, and open inuasions. It is the same Nation, that we haue beene taught and trayned vp from our youths to beware of. It is the same Nation, whose ambitions to satisfie, the East and West *Indies* are not sufficient, nor all *Europe*: but all the earth must become slaues to their pride, and the prey of their cruelties, as if all other men and places had beene made for them. For, so they compasse what they seeke, they care not by what meanes they get it, hold it they will: their wils must be the rule of Iustice, their lusts, the Catholique rule of honour to all others.

Sir VValter Raleigh.

Deductio Nullitatum, fol. 14

Eightly, it is Obiected, *I haue meddled with the mariage of the Prince, which concernes not the subiect.* Concernes it not the subiect to pray, that the wife of his Soueraigne may be of the same Religion with her Lord? If I may pray thus, wish thus, may I not endeuor to haue it thus? & shew the *inconueniences* (that I may not say *mischiefs*) w<sup>ch</sup> are likely to fall, if it be not thus? Princes are married to the common-wealth, & the wife hath power of the husbandsbody, as the husband of hers. The Common-wealth then hath power

1 Cor. 7. 4.

of the Prince in this point. Their Wiues ought to be as Mothers to euerie Subiect. And were not he a Foole, that would not desire a Naturall Mother, rather then a Step-Mother? Queenes ought to be nurcing Mothers to the Church: Who then would seeke a dry-Nurse, that might haue another?

Againe, the Prince is to be considered as a publike and priuate person: As a priuate person, he may chuse for his priuate affection, and match where he list; prouided, he neglect not the publike part, which is the principall, but elects with the loue and liking of his people: Because betwixt them, loue is reciprocall; yet so, as it begins in the  
 1 Ioh. 4. 19 Superiour, who is an Image of God; and *we loue God, because he first loued vs.* So we loue the Prince, when we discern he loues vs; and he cannot manifest his loue more, then when we see he doth all for our good; and respects the generall good so much, as for it he neglects his priuate affection, and chuseth for our affections; because he knowes *That loue which is restrained from the Wombe, will hardly be yeilded to the fruit of the Wombe; or from them againe flow as it ought, vpon the poore members of the Common-wealth.*

But must Princes then be tyed to please euerie particular Subiect in their choice? God forbid: Their case then were miserable. The consent of the *State representatiue* (that is, the *Parliament*) is only necessarie; wherein the consent of euerie Subiect is included. This hath beene done, and (I suppose and desire, pardon me if I be in an errour; and rather afford me instruction, then correction) "this should be done; and this, I trust, shall be done.

The ninth Obiection is, *That I wanted a lawfull vocation to warrant this Worke of mine: and that I follow*  
*extraor-*



*extraordinarie examples, which are no safe nor sufficient presidents.* To the first I answer, That euery mans vocation bindes him to preuent euill, and to doe good. So that whensoever I haue opportunitie to doe it, I haue a calling to doe it. For the generall calling of a Subiect, and of a Christian, warrants any particular action, which I doe for the benefit of the State and Church, whereof I am a member; or for any part thereof, though my particular calling affords me no such Commission. For instance, the publike Officer hath onely a calling to execute the Law; yet I am bound by my generall calling, as a Subiect, to assist him; and in his absence or neglect, to execute his Office, and to keepe the Peace. So the Minister hath onely warrant to teach publikely; yet euery man is bound by his generall calling, as a member of the Church, to reach his erring and ignorant Brother. Yea, the *King will demand the life of his Subiect*, and *God the Soule of his Seruant*, at the hand of his Neighbour, by whose neglect he perished, though he had no particular calling to looke to him.

And for such as say, That the examples which either are or may be brought to countenance this course of mine, are extraordinarie, and therefore not safe to follow: I answer, That therefore they are to be followed, because they are extraordinarie: For such examples fit extraordinarie times and occasions best. And this is my comfort, that I haue God and my conscience to witnesse for me, that no sinister ayme excited me to the Worke: And therefore I dare say with the Apostle, euen in this respect, *I hope I haue the Spirit of God also.*

The last Obiection, that I heare of, or can imagine, is, *That I wrote not like a Diuine, but like a fabulous Poet or*

*an Historian, too full of coniectures.* To write otherwise had beene proper indeed for me, vnproper for the subiect, and withall, the next way to reueale my selfe, when I laboured the contrarie. I was not to exhort, but to inform; and the sight of these things would perswade enough, without a stander by, to shew euerie propertie of the motion, or by a punctuall applycation, to worke the affection farther. That part I left to my Superiours; supposing it my part and duty only to set forth in liuely colours, things that might be, and things that were most likely to be, in one Table with such things as certainly were, and were vsually accompanied with the like connexion and coherence of circumstances and effects: knowing well, it would be too late to admonish of the danger, when they came to haue their working; as it would haue beene too late to giue warning of the *Powder plot*, (with *Garnet*) when the Match had kist the Powder.

These and many other Obiections may be brought against me, (as dust raysed by the feete of a Droue of beasts) but they are all as easily wiped off, as cast on: Nothing stickes fast, but what Power and Authoritie is pleased to inflict: and that may be strict and seuerer, cannot be vniust; whilst the *will* of the State, (that is, the Lawe) is the rule of *Iustice* in all matters, but Religion.

And therefore, as I will be silent, and humbly submit my selfe iustly and patiently to suffer, if it shall so iudge me worthy, and not open my mouth to defend that for innocencie, which it shall condemne for errour: So to all others whomsoever, I oppose my selfe with confidence of victorie, whatsoeuer Gyants they be, whatsoeuer artificiall weapons they bring, whilst my integritie is armed with that staffe and sling, and pibble of *Dauid*.

*The Lord that deliuered me out of the Iaw of that roaring Lyon the Diuell, and out of the Paw of that deformed Antichristian Beare, Idolatry and Errour, he will deliuer me out of the hand of this Philistine. And all this assembly shall know, that the Lord saueth not with Sword and Speare (for the Battle is the Lords) and he will giue his strongest enemies into the hands of his weakest seruants.*

I know well, whatsoeuer I can say; though their were a windore in my heart, yet some would take exceptions against me: especially now, in an age of such contrarietie and contradiction, where men seeke aduantages and occasions of contention. I know some men may condemne me to be pragmaticall in other mens affaires, or proud and selfe-conceited of some shadow of worth in my selfe; or enuious, to detract from the worth of other men, whilst I seeme to presse into their places, without a vocation, or without a cause of necessitie prouokeing my vndertakeing. To all these I make the same answer, that *Dauid* made to his Brother, mentioned in the former Treatise: *What haue I now done? Is there not a cause?* 1.Sam.17.

Notwithstanding all which, if any being either inuincibly blinde by ignorance, cannot; or wilfully blinde otherwise (as gifts and interest doe blinde the eyes of the wise) will not see the cause of my writing, I passe by their incurable maladies, without care or hope of recouerie: But for others that would gladly see the cause, out of a purpose to examine it; and so to condemne or approue my action vpon that ground of iudgement: to such I willingly apply my selfe, and freely deliuer the causes and motiues of my vndertaking this businesse: desiring such as reade what I write, to lay by preiudice awhile, and imagine themselues



to be what I am; and then to iudge whether or no they would haue done as I did.

I suppose it not perillous now to point at that, which the whole State hath taken notice of, and worthily reformed. I spake before, that there might be notice taken of the necessitie, and Lawes made to redresse enormities: for this I prayed to God and the King. I speake now, because there are Lawes made: for this I praise God, who hath opened the heart of our King, Peeres, Prelates, and People, vniting them in one, for a generall reformation of all. To paint out now, what was then, and what compelled me then to write, is to paint out the glorie of that which now is; and to celebrate the honour of his Maiestie, the Prince, and this Parliament to all posteritie: by whose wisdom, zeale, and diligence (next vnder God) it is, as it is.

The cause of penning the Booke, the Booke it selfe deliuers; which were the generall griuances of the Church and State, and their farther feares. This I might well see, being a Member of the Multitude: my Office also being to see, to watch, to speake, to blowe the Trumpet, to giue warning both of the sinne, and of the punishment for sinne. Truth comes sometimes amongst the vulgar, with whom I conuersed. And as Famine is felt first by the Poore; and as Frost strikes the Valleys, when higher grounds scape free: So euen the Commons are they, where the disorders of a State, & the mischiefes approaching, are first felt, and soonest discerned. As Kings are for these, so Kings from these may gather the best and most certaine intelligence of their Domesticke affaires: which hath made some Princes to disguise themselues, and come amongst these, to heare how all things stood: and made

me disguise my selfe, to let his Maiestie heare and see by the Market-folke ( who euer talke freely and feelingly of their owne affaires ) how the Market went. I shall not need to recapitulate what there I deliuered, but to shew the cause why there I deliuered it. For I must truly confesse ( though to mine owne shame ) that notwithstanding all that euill which I saw, and felt, and feared; part whereof I collected; that collection had still slept by me, and I with the lazie crowd ( stupified with a Lethargie of cowardice and basenesse ) had contented my selfe to become a Galley-Slaue, or to kisse the Inquisition, for feare of present danger, for feare of censure, for feare of misconstruction; for feare of that Lyon in the way, which deterres *Salomons* Sluggard from action, if a greater necessity then personall respect, had not called me out. Prou. 22. 13.

But when I saw iniquitie to abound, and the loue of many to waxe cold; and all sorts and sexes declining from their *first loue*, and inclining to a generall defection. When I saw the man of sinne grow stronger and stronger, and the men of God, euen the strongest of them stagger, as persons put to the worst, thrust downe into the Channell. When I beheld the ciuill Magistrate busie in suppressing Ale-houses, because they were the Nurceries of Idlenesse, Theeuerie, Beggerie, and Bawdry: and saw Houses of Spirituall fornication increase; which robbed God of Soules, the King of Subiects; which made men Slaues to *Beggarly rudiments*, and trained them vp in idle Gal. 4.9. and apish Superstitions. Yea, when I saw a publike and open *Stewes of Idolatry* kept and tollerated, which bred more Papills in one or two yeeres, then all the Priests and Iesuites had done, or could do before in twentie. *Was it not then a time to speake? Was there not a cause?*

When I saw diuerſe (heretofore called moderate men) goe from our *Church*, and cleaue to the *Romish*; in hope of that which all good Subiects feared. And ſuch as profeſſed themſelues *Romane Catholikes* grow insolent and bold, euen to the prouoking of others to impatience; ſtill boasting of their *Gyant*, and attributing euerie ſucceſſe to him and his wiſedome; and promiſing themſelues every day better and better; and threatening worſe and worſe to vs, whereby they encreaſed and heartened their owne partie, and diſcouraged, and diminished ours. When I ſaw ſuch to be weake and vnprouided of Armes, whom the Law armed to withſtand foraine Force: and ſuch only to be the armed men, and chiefe Commanders and directors in Militarie affaires, whom the Law diſarmed; as iealous and ſuſpicious of their inclinations and affections. *Was it not then a time to ſpeake? Was there not a cauſe?*

When I ſaw them diſfurniſh our Maritime Townes and Coaſts of the ableſt Mariners and Sea-men, to furniſh and ſecure their owne: to defend them againſt the *Turke* at our coſt and charges, whiſt they in the meane time prooued worſe to the Kings Children, and to vs, then *Turkes* could doe. When I ſaw them caſt in ſcruples betwixt vs and our ſureſt friends, to make vs fall out, that whiſt we wrangle for the Sea, they might get the whole Land. When I ſaw them ſow Schiſmes in the Church, to alienate our hearts from each other: ſo that whiſt we ſtrive and diſpute about *Free-will*, they might make vs Slaues to their owne wills without controuerſie. When I ſaw it was counted no iniuſtice in them to oppreſſe all the World; but iniuſtice in others to free themſelues from their oppreſſions. *Was it not then*



*a time to speake? Was there not a cause?*

When I saw them place and displace Officers of State at home and abroad; or at least giue out that they did it. And that his Maiestie might not whisper any thing in Conncell, but an exact account must be yeelded them; and by them againe published, to the honour of their *Champion*, the witnesse of their strength, the increase of their hoast, and to the generall satisfaction of their whole Faction. When I saw in the greatest businesse of State concerning all Christendome, the eyes of all men diuerted from that object, by vnseasonable proiects and deuises of inferiour nature; and our timely supplies otherwayes preuented, and taken vp by matter of pleasure or complement. When I saw the generall combination of *Romane Catholiques*, both at home and abroad, against the Kings Children: and the forraine enemies violent and bloudie pursuite of all aduantages against them, and such as professe the Reformed Religion. So that abroad all went to wracke, and at home no remedie was thought vpon: Whilst *Spinola* with speed enters, and possesseth the *Palatinate* with an Armie; and we seeke to dispossesse him onely with perswasive Arguments of amitie and iustice. When at home I beheld all *Romane Catholiques* bold to declare themselues for the Emperour against the Kings children, and to hinder the beneuolence of the Countrey by all politique and possible meanes: endeauouring, that either it might not be granted at all, or giuen sparingly, and with a niggardly hand, or gathered too late, and so to no purpose. When I saw it was made an infallible note of a *Puritane*, and so consequently of an ill subiect, to speake on the behalfe of the Kings Children: and a certaine proofs of a good Protestant or a discrete and mo-

derate man, to pleade against them for the *Emperour*, and *King of Spaine*, who are euer linked and interested together in one cause. *Was it not then a time to speake? Was there not a cause?*

When I saw *Romanists* labour to breed new discontentes betwixt the King and his Subiects, and to continue the old: that so the Subiect might be drained, and made either vnable or vnwilling to supply his Maiesties necessarie desires; and the King put vpon hard streights, either to indure things vnfit for his dignitie, and crosse to his free disposition, or to furnish himselfe by falling vpon their side. When I saw them endeouour, by *wringing the nose hard, to presse out blood*, hoping thus to be armed in his Maiesties colourable defence, and to haue oportunitie to draw in foraine powers on their partie. When I saw them helpe forward with art and industrie the Grieuances of the Common-wealth; that whilst the State of *Brittaine* was busie in reforming and settling those domesticke disorders, the generall State of the Christian-Commonwealth dispersed thorow all Nations, might in the meane time be neglected, and left in their hands to ruine. Whilst to this end I beheld a dangerous Faction shew it selfe at home, and another breeding abroad; many English marching vnder the command of *Spinola*, to encounter the English vnder his *Excellencie*; that Banner might be against Banner, *the Seminarie of a ciuill warre*. When I saw a foraine Ambassadour giue Passes and Licences continually to *Romish Catholikes*, to goe out of *England*, to serue the King of *Spaine* in his warres in the Low-countries; and, like a Pope, dispensing with the othes of *Supremacie* and *Allegiance*; which were made vpon such good ground, by the wisdome of our State, and have

become

been hitherto continued in practise with happie successe, for the defence and safegard of the Kings person, the Church and State. When by this meanes, I saw the matter would be of dangerous consequence in a small time, whether they were there employed against our friends, or reuerred home vpon our selues: since all of them being interested in one case, and bound together by a mis-led conscience and blinde deuotion, would pursue their Plots with constancie, & indure all difficulties with resolution, so they might effect it: whilst ours (I meane, the common Souldier) being, for the most part, the off-scouring of our Nation, was led to the warre more by couetousnesse to the wages, then by conscience to the worke. *Was it not then a time to speake? Was there not a cause?*

When I saw the Common-wealth hunted like a Deare to death, and now at a stand readie to fall: whilst euerie man with a seuerall proiect sought his priuate profit, as Hounds after the Chase expect their reliefe. When I saw the poore Commons silently groning vnderneath these pressures, and no man either willing, or daring to make them known to him, whom it most concerned, and who only had power to remedie these mischiefes. Yea, when I heard a generall despaire close vp the hearts of all men, that they should neuer see Parliament againe (which Court was the onely absolute, certaine and speedie discoverer, and remoouer of all such mightie enormities; and in defect whereof, these had presumptuously shot vp, & ouerspred the Church and State in a short time) I could not chuse (the zeale of God, the loue of my Countrey, durie to my King and his Children, and indignation to behold the enemies of all these triumphing, presenting themselves to my consideration, as to a man distracted



with sorrow and astonishment) but at length brake silence, with the resolution of *Hester, If I perish, I perish. For was there not a time to speake? Was there not a cause?*

**Mar. 4. 38.** The blessed Apostles are in a Ship with our Sauour, the Windes roare, the Sea rageth, the Ship is tost like a Tennis-ball with the storme, and filled halfe full with water readie to sinke; the whilst our Sauour seemes to sleepe. The Apostles affrighted, awake him with this acclamation ( I might say, obiurgation ) *Master, carest thou not that we perish?* And yet they are not for this challenged of treason or disobedience. I heare the Windes chidden, and enioyned silence, the Waues suppressed, and commanded to be calme: I see the enemies that disturbed the Church and State reprooued: the Apostles are onely taught and admonished to haue more Faith.

This Ship is the Church, is the State: the Windes, the Waues, the Rockes, the Sands, and ( more then all these ) profest Pirates assault it. It concernes vs all to looke about vs, euen from the Master to the Ship-boy. Nor shall it ( I hope ) be a capitall crime in me to awake the Supreme Gouvernour, the *Defender of the Faith*, with the peoples voyce, *Master, carest thou not that we perish?*

**Psal. 44.** *David*, or some other holy Prophet, is bolder yet with Almighty God, then the Apostles were here with our Sauour; and in the name of the whole Church, with the *voyce of the people*, doth as it were vpbraide God, saying, *In God we boast all the day long, and praise thy Name for euer & euer. But thou hast cast vs off, and put vs to shame, and goest not forth with our Armies. Thou makest vs to turne backe from the Enemy, and they that hate vs spoyle for*

for themselves. Thou hast giuen vs as Sheepe appointed for meat, and hast scattered vs among the Heathen. Thou sellest thy people for nought, and doest not encrease thy wealth by their price. Thou makest vs a reproch vnto our Neighbours, a scorne and derision to them that are round about vs. Thou makest vs a by-word among the Heathen: a shaking of the head among the people, &c. Awake, why sleepest thou, O Lord? Arise, cast vs not off for euer. Wherefore hidest thou thy face, and forgettest our affliction and oppression? For our Soule is bowed downe to the dust: our belly cleaueth vnto the Earth. Arise for our helpe and redeeme vs for thy mercies sake, &c. Thus they expostulate the case with God, as if he had forgot himselfe: whilst notwithstanding, we doe not heare their Faith reprehended for this, but rather commended to our imitation. And yet should a Subiect so deale with a Soueraigne, one man with another (though there were iust cause of the complaint) What a Traytour should he be thought? What a seuerer censure should he vndergoe? Whilst flatterie with tickling and scratching the itching humors of men, hath made the eares so tender, as we cannot endure the least rough touch of Faith and Truth.

Behold me, in the same state that *Dauid* describes himselfe to be, in the 39 *Psalme*, where he saith: *I thought I will take heed to my waies, that I offend not with my tongue. I will keepe my mouth bridled, whilst the wicked is in my sight. I was dumbe and spake nothing: I kept silence euen from good, and my sorrow was more stirred. Mine heart was hot within me, and I spake with my tongue. And like Ieremie, I said, I will not make mention of him, nor speake any more in his Name, but his Word was in my heart like burning fire, shut up in my bones, and I was*

*wearie with forbearing, and I could not stay: for I had heard the rayling of many, and feare came on euery side.*

- And vndoubtedly whatsoeuer cold blood may moderately thinke, or stoicall Atheists (who haue quenched the Spirit in themselves) resolute and doe, whilst they iudge a frenzie or distemperature in other men (as *Festus* iudged of *Paul*) to haue liuing affections: yet assuredly when God fills the heart, the mouth must run ouer. *I beleue, therefore I spake*, saith the *Psalmist*. Infidels may easily be silent, for it concernes them not to speake on Gods behalf, with whom they haue nothing to doe. But *Truth* will haue vent, or breake the Vessell that containes it: for God fills it, to haue it vttered, and not bottled or barreled vp in silence. *The Lyon hath roared, who will not heare? The Lord hath spoken, who can but prophesie?*
- Act. 4.20.* *We cannot but speake the things which we haue seene and heard*, say the Apostles. And of *S. Paul* it is recorded, that while he waited for *Sylas* and *Timotheus* at *Asbens*, his Spirit was stirred in him, when he saw the Citie wholly giuen to Idolatry. God brought him thither to see and to heare; and stayed him there, that he might haue his heart stirred: So that from the abundance of his heart, his mouth might speake what he knew.
- Mat. 12.34* *the heart is full of evil, and the mouth speaketh of it*.

I may say, this was my case in some sort: I did not see all the City, but a great part giuen to Idolatry: I did not see all the Kingdome, but a great part returning toward *Babylon*, euen of those that had made a faire progresse before towards *Ierusalem*. My heart was stirred when I beheld this; and I hope stirred by the Spirit of God: as the *1 Cor. 7.40* Apostle saith in another place, *I thinke I haue the Spirit also*.

But some may say, I ought to haue attended the leisure of



of my Superiours, Elders, and betters. Alas, so I did, till I was wearie with waiting, hauing no hope of helpe. So that I might well say with *Elihu*, *I am young in yeeres, and ye are ancient; therefore I doubted and was afraid to shew mine opinion. For I said, the dayes shall speake, and the multitude of yeeres shall teach wisdom.* Surely there is a Spirit in man, but the inspiration of the Almighty giueth understanding. Great men are not alway wise, neither do the aged alway understand iudgement. Therefore I say, heare me, and I will shew also my opinion. Behold, I did wait vpon your words, and hearkned vnto your knowledge, whilst you sought out reasons, &c. Iob 32. 6.

But when I perceiued no reason would come forth, I would not let Truth receiue preiudice by my silence: but then I answered in my turne, and shewed my opinion. For I am full of matter, and the Spirit within me compelled me. Behold, my belly is as the Wine which hath no vent, and like the new Bottels which brast. Therefore will I speake, that I may take breath: I will open my lips and answer. I will not now accept the person of man, neither will I giue Titles to man: for I may not giue Titles, lest my Maker should take me away suddenly. And why so? Surely because herein to forbear speech in regard of man, had beene to honour man more then God. And yet I must truly confesse, I was as much perplexed and troubled in this businesse, as *Daniel* was, when commanded by King *Nebuchadnezzar* to interpret his dreame; the Text saith, *He held his peace for the space of an houre, and his thoughts troubled him.* Doublesse, he did not studie so long to finde out the truth, which God reuealed to him; but how to deliuer that truth safely, because it concerned the King and State. For Truth hath euer almost beene called

Amos 7. *Treason at Court, and banished the Chappell there long*  
 11, 12. *since, in the time of Amazia: yea, in those dayes they ha*

Am. 5. 10. *ted him that rebuked in the Gate; and they abhorred him*

Am. 5. 13. *that spake uprightly. Therefore the prudent shall keep*  
*silence in that time, for it is an euill time. And I know of*  
 old, that when truth is there spoken where it toucheth

2 Chr. 16. *the quicke, it is time for the speaker to flee; yea sometimes*  
 10. *from the presence of good Princes, till they come to them-*

*selues againe: For nemo omnibus horis sapit. And the*  
*reason hereof is, because Satan knowes it concernes Prin-*  
*ces especially to know truth; for that their example and*  
*command is a great meanes to promote it. Therefore he*  
*labours to banish it from their presence; and to this end*  
*entertaines and armes his Pensioners (Flatterers, those*  
*tame Beasts, toothlesse Traytours) to staue it off with*  
*many pretie pretences, colourable enough, being dyed*  
*deepe in Hypocrisie, Policie, and Court-craft. So we see*  
*all men, especially Princes, loue to be praysed; and ne-*  
*uer suspect such as flatter them, though they would, if*

Com. lib. 2 *they should counsell them. An example we haue in*  
 ca. 13. li. 5. *Charles, the great Duke of Burgundie, who suspected the*  
 cap. 6. *King of France, Lewis the eleuenth, when he gaue him*

*good counsell: but when he praysed his valour, and flatter-*  
*ed him grossely to his face, then he liked him verie well,*  
*and thought all to be truth that he said.*

*Now as it is not euer safe therefore to speake truth to*  
*Greatnesse, though linked with personall goodnesse: so it*  
 Sap. 2. 12. *is neuer safe to breath it in the eares of the wicked: whose*  
*mercie is crueltie, and whose hearts God doth harden,*  
*that they shall not attend or giue credit to good counsell,*  
*by whomsoever it be brought: but they shall willingly*  
*entertaine euill counsell whosoever giues it; because*

God hath determined to destroy them, and rest them up. 1 King. 12.  
So that as we see when sicke men have lost their hearing, 12, 13, 14.  
and sight, and feeling, their friends begin to provide them 15, 16.  
of Blackes, because these are the Symptomes of weaknesse 2 Chr. 29.  
preceding, and of death presently ensuing: So assuredly a 16.  
State whose eares are stop, be it with \*Cotton (as the eares \* Cotton  
of Henrie the fourth of France were) or be it with any the Iesuie  
other Stuffe; that State is at the last gasp, and ripe towards was the  
rottenesse. For if good counsell from God cannot enter Kings con-  
into the eares, by the tongue of the faithfull, which is fessor, and  
Gods Instrument to that end: then assuredly euill coun- so had op-  
sell shall have power to enter into the heart, by Satans In- portunitie  
strument, the hand of a Traytour, and perhaps finde the to know  
nearest way thither. For such Ministers of death and de- the Kings  
struction, are their Craftsmasters in the art of Murther: counsels,  
first, murthering the Soule by flatterie and falsehood, and & to stop  
then the body by the hand of some Paricide. Thus it is his eares  
said of Iuda, That the Lord God of their Fathers sent to by vertue  
them by his Messengers, rising early and sending: for he of his Of-  
had compassion of his people, and on his habitation. But fice from  
they mocked the Messengers of God, and despised his words, all honest  
and misused his Prophets, untill the wrath of the Lord and whol-  
arose against his people, and till there was no remedie. some in-  
So when it comes to this passe, that men will not heare, then formation.  
we see there is no remedie, but they must feele. And to 2 Chr. 36.  
this end Salomon saith, A man that hardeneth his necke 15, 16.  
when he is admonished, shall suddenly be destroyed, and  
cannot be cured. And to this end One saith well; That  
good successe issuing from bad counsell, is more to be feared,  
then calamitie: inasmuch as the one breeds a foolish confi-  
dence, the other teacheth men to be warie. Commynes hath  
observed this long since in his great Duke of Burgandie,

Prou. 29. 1

History of  
the world.  
fol. 442.

Com. lib. 1  
cap. 12.



who having once good lucke by following his owne way  
 and will, against the opinion of all the rest of his Coun-  
 cellours, did then learne such a restie trick, as he would  
 neuer after be ruled or aduised; but like a head-strong  
 Horse, ran away wilfully with the Bit in his mouth, till he  
 cast the rider. But good and wise Princes are farre other-  
 wise; their eares are open, though their hearts be locke  
 close. And doubtlesse, a Land is happie that hath such  
 and then it is another happinesse to them that are such, to  
 haue good, wise, faithfull, and bold Seruants; that both  
 will out of loue, and can out of knowledge, and dare out  
 of courage ( the true ground of ancient *Nobilitie*, and for  
 which Kings vouchsafed to call them *Comites*, Compani-  
 ons; and *Cognatos*, Kinsmen; to embolden and assure  
 their faith and familiarities ) aduise boldly and truly vpon  
 euerie occasion. Of such as these *Ezekias* was destitute,  
 when he vainly shewed his Treasure to the Ambassadors  
 of *Babylon*, who came to congratulate his recoverie. So  
 2 Chr. 32. that it is said of him, *That in the businesse of the Ambassa-*  
 31. *dours of the Princes of Babylon, who sent unto him to en-*  
*quire of the wonder that was done in the Land, God left*  
*him to trie him, that he might know all that was in his*  
*heart.* God meant to humble him, and therefore bereft  
 him of Councell, or a heart to follow it. And by this  
 meanes did discover his personall disabilitie and weak-  
 nesse, not onely to himselfe, but to others; that the wife-  
 dome of God might be onely magnified, and foolish man  
 might not rely vpon Princes. Of such as these also the  
 King of *France* was scanted in his iourney to *Italy*, of  
 Com. lib. 8 whom *Commynes* saith, *That he lacked a bold and faithfull*  
 cap. 3. *Counsellour, to tell him of the danger he stood in.* Is it not  
 fearefull, that a Prince should be in danger, and none  
 about

about him dare tell him so: Indeed he can fall into no greater danger then he is in already, who conuerseth with such, as either cannot, or will not, or dare not speake truth, for feare of losing the place they hold, or the fauour they enjoy, or the next suit they looke for: Therefore *Siracides* aduise Princes to seeke counsell, and command it, where men are nice to giue it freely; and that they should take all occasions to informe themselves of *necessarie truths*: Pro. 28. 26 as wise men for want of a Looking-glasse, will make shift to dresse themselves by a payle of cleere water. Thus no intelligence is to be sleighted; nay, oftentimes both the counsell and intelligence of meane persons is more profitable, then of wiser and better men; because these speake freely; the other, with reference to fauour, and their owne fortune. *Roma ubi Publicolas, Emilio Fabritios, Curios, Scipiones, Scauros, paupertatis, continentiaq; amantiſſimos, Imperatores sibi deligebat* (saith *Polidore Virgil*) *incredibile memoratū est, quā breuē creſceret, quantumq; cum ipsa praeclārē ageretur: & contrario, ubi Senator censu lugebatur, Index fiebat Censu, Magistratum Ducēq; nil magis exornabat quā celsū, captatio in questu ferilissimā, ac solā gaudia in possidenda eūm pessimū addeūte caput, ut nusquam eius status consistere pōtuerit.* This obseruation all times and States haue approued for true; and found, that together with this corruption, all other mischiefs rush in at the same doore, to the vndoing and confounding of all. And perhaps it is from thence, that men say, They must goe into the Countrey to heare the newes of the Court: because in the Court men dare not speake what they know, and what they ought, for feare of losing what preferment which the Countrey-man lookes not after. And thus there is such a generall conspiracie against

Pol. Virg.  
de inuent.  
rerum. l. 2.  
cap. 3.

*Plaintneffe* in such places, by reason of the necessarie dependencie that one man hath of another; the Inferiour of his Superiour, and all of the highest, that it is impossible, that *Truth* which is knowne to the lowest, should contrarie at the eares of the highest, though the knowledge of all, concernes him about all. Therefore intelligence is to be taken any way, euerie way; and the man of wisdom

can make good vse of all: according to that of *Micah*, *Mich. 6. 9.* *If the Lords voyce cryeth vnto the Citie, the man of wisdom shall see thy Name, heare thy Rod, and who hath appointed it.* The man of wisdom sees God in all, and seekes for him in all; as *Dauid* sees him euen in rayling *Shemi*. And as a witty Gentleman once said; *That he could picke some good thing out of euerie Ballad*: so a wise man findes preseruatiues in poyson; and precious Stones, or that which exceedes them, plentie, and fertilitie in a dunghill.

Now then suppose there were no other vse of the which I haue written, yet it sets forth truly the disposition of the Commons; a *Beast* (if they list to call it so, and count it so, and make it so) that is not to be contemned: for if it hath many heads, it hath more hands. And I neuer yet could reade of *Prince*, who contemned his people's affections, and wilfully contradicted their generall desire without great perill; at least without some preiudice.

*1 King 12.* This (that we looke no neerer) see in *Rehoboam*, of whom it is said, *That by the counsell of young men, who counsell for themselves, the King hearkened not to his people*: for it was the ordinance of God, &c. And when the people saw that the King regarded them not, the people answered the King thus, saying; *What portion haue we in Dauid? We haue no inheritance in the Sonne of israh.* To your T



*O Israel : now see to thine owne house David. So Israel departed vnto their Tents, &c.* And had it not beene better those exactions should haue beene taken off, rather then kept on, to the vexing of the Subiect, and the losse of their loues and loyalties? They required not to haue their yoke taken away; they would be yoked still: but, onely to haue their yoke lined, made more fit, light, easie, &c. yet this courtesie could not be granted them.

For the *young Councillours* would none of that: because perhaps it concerned them, and they had from thence the principall maintenance of their superfluities. Thus on both sides they seemed to haue forgot their duties: The *King* his, to respect and tender them; the *People* theirs, to obay him. For the dutie of Prince and people are reciprocal: and though no man will or can excuse a people, or iustifie their disobedience (their obedience being of absolute necessitie) yet there may be causes to prouoke them to disobedience, which all wise Princes haue euer shunned carefully; desiring to giue them contentment; though in giuing it, they crost their owne iudgements.

So we see, though *Achish* loues *David* well, & desired to haue him stay in the Armie; yet because it likes not his

1 Sam. 29.  
6.7.

Peeres and people, he sends him backe from the Field.

And *David* againe, at the admonition of *Ioab* (a bold Councillour, and a happie in that) puts off his mourning

2 Sam. 19.  
5, 6, 7, 8.

habite, after the losse of his best beloved Sonne, and courts his people in publike like a Triumpher, much against his owne minde. And see the issue hereof set downe in the fourteenth Verse: *So* (that is, by this wise temporizing, as I may say, of his, and humoring of the people) *he bowed the hearts of all the men of Iuda as one man*: Therefore they sent to the King, saying, *Returne thou with all thy*

E

Seruaunts

*Servants &c.* Whilst he bent to them, he bent them : as  
 a Bow of Steele, which bends to the string, since the string  
 cannot be stretched to it. *David* may safely and easily  
 yeeld the people what they desire, because it proceeded  
 from their loue. And therefore *Ioab* is bold to say, *Thou*  
 2 Sam. 19. *hast shamed this day the faces of all thy Seruants, which*  
 5. *this day haue saued thy life, and the liues of thy Sonnes, and*  
*of thy Daughters ; and the liues of thy Wiues, and the liues*  
*of thy Concubines ; In that thou louest thy enemies, and ha-*  
*test thy friends : for thou hast declared this day, that thou*  
*regardest neither thy Princes nor Seruants : therefore this*  
*day I perceiue, that if Absalon had liued and we had all dy-*  
*ed this day, that then it should haue pleased thee well. Now*  
*therefore arise, goe forth, and speake comfortably vnto thy*  
*Seruants : for I sweare by the Lord if thou goe not forth,*  
*there will not tarie one with thee this night, and that will be*  
*worse vnto thee then all the euill which befell thee from thy*  
*youth untill now.*

Surely, this was bold, but happie counsell. It might  
 haue beene deliuered in better termes, after a more reue-  
 rent manner ; but the counsell it selfe is neuer the worse  
 for lacke of some circumstances. And had it beene given  
 by a simple *Leuite*, or a poore Doore-keeper, as it was by a  
 principall Captaine, the counsell had beene neuer the  
 worse, nor the King counted lesse wise for listening to it.  
 For we see that which *Ioab* did here of himselfe, for lacke  
 of another conuenient instrument, he performes happily  
 2 Sam. 14. in another place, by the helpe of a poore woman of *T-*  
*koah*. Neither was it counted a fault in her, that both her  
 person and speech was borrowed and fained, since the in-  
 tention was good, and the successe happie. We see some-  
 times Kings are content in Playes and Maskes to be ad-  
 monished

monished of diuers things : *ye suffer Fooles willingly* (saith the Apostle) and great reason sometime : for Fooles and Children will often speake truth (and therefore such as speake so are counted Fooles or Children) they know no more how to flatter (except they be taught) then *Zenophon's* Horse; which therefore makes his Prince a good Horse-man. The weaker the information be, the greater strength of iudgement doth he shew, that can make good vse of it : as good Physitions behold the state of the sicke patient, in his Vrine or Excrements.

Now then may not I cry out with *Ioab*, or the woman of *Tekoah*, *What is this that I haue done which causeth Dauid to be incensed against me?* Did I tell thee, thy people were griued? I know by this time thou knowest it to be true. Did I tell thee, *they were readie to depart?* I tolde thee nothing but truth : there was nothing slayed them but *Religion*; which, as it strings them to each other, so it tyes them strongly to thee. *Weare them as Bracelets on thy armes, and as a Royall Chaine vpon thy necke* (O Soueraigne.) No Prince hath such a people; nor can all the *Romane-Catholike Kingdomes* in the World boast of so much loyaltie. Let me be bold to aske, What is it that thy people seeke? Is it not thy good, as well as their owne, and thy safetie, as well as theirs? Are they not readie to doe thee all possible seruice? Nay, art not thou forced to restraints them from spending their goods and bloods for thee and thine? Haue they rebelled against thee, or seemed disobedient to thee in any thing, but in louing thee more then some thinke meet, who call their zeale a fault? Or haue they sought thy destruction, or conspired to *blow-up* thy Person and Posteritie? Or is it because some of those that would doe thus to thee and



thine, labour to perswade thee that they loue thy Children too well, to loue thee as they ought? And thus seeke to diuide thee from vs, from thine owne Flesh, from thy selfe: that they might wholly possesse thee; that they might ingrosse thy Power and Raigne; that they might effect what they seeke, the ruine of thee; and in thee, the ruine of *Religion*? Who wonders not, that it should be wisdom, for foure and fortie yeeres together to restraine them; and now wisdom to enlarge their Tents? That in the yeere 1605 the King and whole State should ioyne, to ordaine perpetuall Lawes against them; and a memorable repetition of the almost incredible cause; and now in so short a time, the same wisdom should silence those Lawes, and pull downe that Pillar of Salt set vp for an admonition to all posteritie; as if they would perswade the world that the foule fact had not beene true, but fained, and therefore now the Law was repealed or silenced as an Act of Iniustice? And yet is your Maiestie, out of your superabundant clemencie, disposed to spare them? Why who withstands it, nay who desires it not, if the Truth might yet be safe? Who pitties not the Errour of their Consciences? Who loues not their persons? Who prays nor for them, whilst they curse vs? Who would not beare with many things for their sakes, and for Vnities, if they would be quiet, if they might be trusted? But whilst we see they make no conscience to massacre vs where they haue power; to inuade vs, where they can borrow or procure it; to blow vs vp by traynes and treason, where they haue no open abilitie to effect their desires: When we see they hold no faith with vs, but onely for their owne aduantage, can you blame vs, if we wish you and yours out of their armes; and are icalous of your  
life

life and safetie, whilst we are assured of their hate and malice?

Thus I might expostulate the case with his Maiestie, but I intend not to follow a course which may be any way distastfull or doubtfull. Those times are too old and too good to be presidents to these; besides, the inequality of the persons affords me small freedome. What *David* heard with patience, binds not others: What *Ioab* the Generall did, is no warrant for me. I therefore to auoid all occasion or suspicion of arrogancie, flye to his Maiesties Words and Workes for my warrant, from whence I fetch prooffe to manifest; *First*, the desperate estate of things, and the tickle points, and nice termes whereupon they stood when I first did write: *Secondly*, the necessitie of speedie reformation: *Thirdly*, the good office of such as gaue the Information; without which, the mischiefe would haue broken out past remedie, before the disease could haue beene discovered. And the course that I intend to take and follow herein, is to speake of the State at home & abroad, and of Religion respectiue in all parts; because these are intermixt and wouen together, and participate of prosperitie and aduersitie, and partake all passions of ioy and sorrow, with each other in common.

To this end, behold in the first place that most worthy speech which his Maiestie made to the Parliament on Munday, the 26 of *March*, 1621: as if a Father had spoken to his Children, wherein he acknowledgeth the grieuances of the Common-wealth, saying; *I doe assure you in the heart of an honest man and by the Faith of a Christian King (which both ye, and all the World know me to be) had these things beene complained of vnto me, before the Parliament, I would haue done the Office of a Iust King;*

*and out of Parliament haue punished them as severely; and peraduenture more, then ye haue intended to doe.*

Now then what did I but complaine in the *Voyce of the People*, that their *Grievances* might come to his Maiesties cares? Whom I beleeued to be such, as his words and actions testifie: readie to take information of truths, and to redresse them; but that the voyce and cry of his oppressed Subiects was kept from his cares, by such as oppress them; as Wolues howle and barke, that the vigilant Shepheard may not heare the worried Lambes bleate.

But it may be obiected, *There was no cause of this cry in generall, but of one or two particulars.* Heare then his Maiestie farther taking notice of the generall clamour, presently after in the same Speech, saying: *I confesse I am ashamed (these things prouing so, as they generally are reported to be) that it was not my good fortune to be the only Authour of the reformation, and punishment of them, by some ordinarie Courts of Iustice.*

Is his Maiestie ashamed, that such things are done vnder his nose (as they say) without his knowledge? O shamelesse wretches, who did that, which caused this shame in his Royall Maiestie. Are not you ashamed to doe it, whilst he is ashamed to heare it to be done? Shall it be a shame and sin in me to admonish him of it, when he is ashamed not to haue knowne it before? Is he sorrie it was not his good fortune to be the only Authour of the reformation; and shall I be sorrie, that it was my good fortune to be one of the first that complained on the behalfe of others (being safe my selfe) so that he might heare and reforme? I trow nor.

But it may againe be obiected, *That his Maiestie had diners neere about him, who could & would better informe him.*



*him of these things, then my selfe.* I doubt not the truth of this, that he had many about him, that would, if they could: but many of these not conuersing with the people, were not sensible of their sufferings, nor could haue beene induced to beleue halfe of that to be true, which now they see manifestly. Others could, but would not, either because themselves, or their friends were interested in the businesse. Others both could and would, but these were not euer the greatest in number, or greatest of power: they were vnable to meet that mightie opposition, which they beheld prepared and armed euer at hand to beare them downe: they were loth to be accounted *singular persons*, or *male-contents*: they were afraid of losing their own *Liberties, Offices, and Linings*, whilst they endeououred to doe good Offices for the life and liberties of others. Otherwise it had beene impossible these disorders in so short a time, should haue gotten such roote and head, and growne vp to such an height.

O happie Parliament therefore; and (as his Maiestie styled it) likely then to be the happiest Parliament that euer was in *England*. Happie to reueale this, happie to reforme this, and happie to me also, to approue with their wisedome much of the matter of my complaint; (if not the manner of deliuerie) had there not beene a generall despaire of seeing a *Parliament* againe, I had not written at all, but stayed and expected their leisure and pleasure. But when I had written, and saw there was offence taken, and no credit giuen to my report, I gaue way to the time; praying God, who moued his Maiesties heart to summon a Parliament; by whom I knew he should be informed of the truth beyond my report, and so my supposed error made knowne to be good seruice. Happie therefore am I

in them : and happie are they being iustified by such as they haue censured and condemned. Heare then the late Lord Chancellour accuse the times, iustifie the Parliamtarie proceedings, & helping to excuse me, whilst he saith : *In the midst of a State of as great affliction, as I thinke, a mortall man can endure (honour being aboue life) I shall begin with the professing of gladnesse in some things; The first is, that hereafter the greatnesse of a Iudge or Magistrate will be no Sanctuarie or protection of guiltinesse, which in few words is the beginning of a Golden world.* Thus He. And who knew more in these things then he? Who could say more to purpose then he? So that it seemes before it was otherwise, and that was the effect of an Iron-age; when *Greatnesse* might be euill with securitie, and doe euill with warrant. But heare from the same person another cause of ioy : *The next is (saith he) that after this example, it is likely the Iudges will flee from any thing, that is in the likenesse of Corruption (though it were at a great distance) as from a Serpent : which tendeth to the purging of Courts of Iustice, and reducing them to their true honour and splendour.* Thus He. And this I note from him, that *Corruption* was a Companion to Courts; and *Bribes* were not shunned, but taken from Satan in shape of a *Wife*, or Friend, or Child, or Seruant, as *Eua* and *Adam* tooke the Apple from the Serpent without suspecting the successe.

It is hard with the whole Body, when the Stomach that should feed all, and concoct nourishment, is foule and distempered : when the Liuer which should water all, is smitten with infection : and it is hard with the sicke Patient, when the Phisitian is distempered : yet this was our case by the confession of the chiefe Phisitian himselfe;

himselfe; who saith, *The Courts which should purge all, lackt purging themselves; and they which should reduce all things to right, and giue vice the due punishment, and vertue the due honour it deserueth, stood in need of others to reduce them to that honour and splendour from which they were fallen.* What is this but that which God saith, *Ezech. 22. 27, 28. Her Princes in the midst thereof are like Wolues, rauening the Prey, to shed blood, and to destroy Soules for their owne lukre. And her Prophets haue dawbed them with untempered Mortar, seeing vanities, and deuining lyes vnto them, saying, Thus saith the Lord God, when the Lord had not spoken.* And *Esay, 10. 1, 2. Woe vnto them that decree wicked Decrees, and write grieuous things, to keepe backe the poore from iudgement, and to take away the iudgement of the poore of my people, that widowes may be their prey, and that they may spoile the fatherlesse.* What will ye doe now in the day of your visitation and destruction which shall come from farre? To whom will ye flee for helpe? And where will you leaue your glorie? And *Ierem. 17. 11. As the Partrich gathereth the young, which she hath not brought forth: So he that getteth riches, and not by right, shall leaue them in the midst of his dayes, and at his end shall be a Foole.* And *Ierem. 22. 15. Shalt thou reigne, because thou closest thy selfe in Cedar? Did not thy Father eat, and drinke, and prosper, when he executed iudgement and iustice?* Surely all this, and much more to this purpose contained in the Booke of God, was well knowne to this great man, who was able to teach others both in Diuinitie, and Morallitie, and Policie. But either the heighth of prosperitie so amazeth the eyes of men, as it makes them vertiginous, vnable to remember where they are, what they were, and to consider what they may



be, before they may be precipitated to ruine : or else the voyce of poore men beneath cannot reach so high, except they straine themselves to sing *Placentia*. For they condemne all that is vnder them, and whilst they know all that the poore Minister knowes, and more too, and can speake as well as he, and much better, they thinke scorn to be admonished of the least errour or danger by them, forgetting their vocation, and how they may be directed by God to them, as *Nathan* was to *David*. I doubt not *David* knew all that *Nathan* knew, and more too, and could speake as well as *Nathan*. or perhaps much better : but this did not hinder him from enertaining the Ambassage of God, and from taking occasion hereby to see, confesse, and come out of his sinne, that so he might auoid the iudgement of God. Yet I am perswaded, he that in the time of this *Great mans* prosperitie, should haue boldly and honestly brought these things home, and applyed them to him by way of admonition, should perhaps haue beene as much regarded, as now the like would be at the hand of his like, who thinke they cannot fall no more then he thought, and arme themselves against all Errours, but that wherein God will haue their wisedomes taken. Nay, it were well, if they onely sleighted his Message, and counted him a mad-fellow (as the Courtiers and the Captaines in *Iehues* time counted the Prophets) that should so plainly deale with them : but perhaps he should fall into a kind of *Inquisition*, and be committed to prison, and presented to some Court of censure, to be vndone for his good will. For this is sure, many Courts had wont to be (for I hope they are now mended) like *S. Winifrids Needle* in *Rippon* ; you cannot passe thorough, till you be naked, and free from all impediments ; and stript you must be, for  
therefore

therefore came you thither ; and till you be stript, you may be innocent, but you cannot appeare to be so. This is that which *Siracides* saith : *If a rich man offend he hath many helpers ; he speaketh proud words, and yet men iustifie him : but if a poore man faile, they rebuke him ; and though he speake wisely yet can he haue no place. When the rich man speaketh , euerie man holdeth his tongue ; and looke what he saith, they praise it vnto the Clouds : but if the poore man speake, they say, What fellow is this ? and if he do amisse, they will destroy him.* Ecc. 13. 22  
23.

And yet truly it had beene easie to haue foretold these things before, by obseruing the times, the manners, the actions of men, and the iudgements of God threatned vpon such. For God is not a *God only neere hand, and not as farre off also* : What he threatens he will doe ; be it to Priest, or Prince, or People. And thus it were no difficult matter to prophecie, that is, to foretell the certaine iudgements of God for certaine sinnes, by comparing times and things wisely together. For repentance and mercie may diuert the execution of Gods iudgement publicuely declared, nothing else can. And in this sence also, I doubt not is *preaching* in the Gospel called *prophecying* ; with respect to the Law, and to the iudgements therein denounced, obseruing times and comparing like sinnes and punishments together. And would to God this kind of prophecying were more vsed, and better beleueed, that Preachers might be more respected, or left at libertie to be taught by God, without limitation of man, and to say what God hath done lately, as well as what God hath done long since : But we haue no such custome, no such 1 Cor. 11.  
16. freedome, nor the present Churches of God. Yet *David* Pl. 141. 6. could say in his time, and we see it true in ours ; *When*

*their Iudges are ouerthrowne in Stonie places, they shall heare my words, for they are sweet. When these things are come to passe, and they feelee the smart of their folly,*  
 Es. 53. 1. *then they are content to heare of it: But who hath beleened our report before? Or to whom is the Arme of the Lord revealed?*

As for that which some say, of giuing information of those *Vices of the time* (as that learned Lord calls them) by an ordinatie course: I answer, Ordinarie courses are for ordinarie crimes: but that ordinatie course failing (as here it did) and extraordinarie crimes arising, and extraordinarie practises appearing, and extraordinarie feares prouoking euerie man, *Necessitie* droue me to seeke out an extraordinarie meanes of remedie; as Nature being constiue, betakes her selfe to vomite. For I beheld what would be the issue of these things, if no body slept vpto  
 Macc. 2. 40 *giue the onset: As Mathias and his friends debate the case with each other, vpon that Massacre, or Sicilian Euen-Song, or Powder-plot, which fell among them: If we all doe as our brethren haue done (say they) and fight not against the Heathen for our Liues, and for our Lawes, then shall they incontinently destroy vs out of the Earth: And if we looke not about vs (might I then haue said) and bestirre vs nimbley, either our Friends will eat vs vp at home by Suites and Proiects; or our Enemies abroad, by Plots and Practises: Some therefore must breake the Ice, to shew others the danger: for to waite and stay then for a Rule or Law to warrant my Fact, had beene to run mad with Reason, and to seeke Phisicke for a dead man. All subordinate Courts are to take information by ordinarie and regular courses: Kings are the extreamest Circle; Lines are drawne from the Center to them, and informa-*  
 tion



tion must come to them by any meanes. Their eares are long, and touch vpon euerie Subiects tongue; and great reason: for they are those that must reforme the Iudges themselves; and aboue them there is no Iudge but God. We are then to flee to them in necessitie, and not before; and this was my case, and this I did.

Now because I could not come to speake; or if I had, the particulars had been too many to deliuer at an instant; and my danger in this modest, bashfull, and religious age (which makes nice onely to heare that euill reported and reprobued, which it makes not nice, but glories to commit) had beene greater then my strength could withstand: Therefore I tooke that course which God commands to *Esay, Chap. 30. Vers. 8. I wrote it in a Booke*: By which meanes I had hope it should arriue at his Maiesties hand more safely then by any other passage: And so (as I heare) it did; and since that all foraine actions haue concurred to make good my coniectures; or rather the vulgar voyce and opinion of the people deliuered by my Pen. And time will yet make it more cleere (I feare) to the cost of vs, and of our friends; except God take the cause in hand: And at home that most high and honourable Court of Parliament, hath so opened the whole Mysterie of Iniquitie, that none need doubt the truth of any thing I wrot, but rather wonder that I wrote no more.

For confirmation of this, heare his Maiestie in his own words to that short-liued Parliament, *Anno 1621*, most elegantly clearing this point, whilst he acknowledgeth the *Face of the Common-wealth was shewed him faire and fat, but the Body hidden, which was in a Consumption*. They put on the best pretences of all things, and made it their daily care, by art and industry, to keepe his Maiestie from

seeing or hearing the truth. Heare what he saith : *And now I confesse, that when I looked before vpon the Face of the Gouernment, I thought ( as euerie man would haue done ) that the people were neuer so happie as in my time : For euen as at diuerse times I haue looked vpon diuerse of my Coppices, riding about them, and they appeared on the outside verie thicke, and well growne vnto me ; but when I entred into the midst of them, I found them all bitten with in, and full of plaines and bare spots ( like an Apple or Peare, faire and smooth without, but when ye claue it asunder, ye find it rotten at the heart ) euen so this Kingdome, the externall gouernment being as good as euer it was, and I am sure as learned Iudges as euer it had ( and I hope as honest ) administering Iustice within it : And for Peace both at home and abroad, I may truly say more setled, and longer lasting then euer any before ; together with as great Plentie as euer : so as it was to be thought, that euerie man might sit in safetie vnder his owne Vine, and vnder his own Fig-tree : Yet I am ashamed, and it makes my haire stand upright to consider, how in this time, my people haue been vexed and polled, by the vile execution of Proiects, Patents, and Bills of Conformitie, and such like ; which besides the trouble of my people, haue more exhausted their Purset, then Subsidies would haue done.*

Obserue this well, and you shall see no man can say more then his Maiestie hath done, to set forth the miserie of a State, which seemeth to flourish like a greene Bay-tree. His Maiestie *saw the Face*, he did not see the Body ; but thought the body in as good plight as the face ; as any man in deed would haue done. He thought *the people* neuer so happie as in his time ; and great reason he had so to thinke : but now he sees it otherwise ; and must needs  
griue,

griene, because it is so. The Common-wealth *was as his Coppices flourishing & thicke without, within not suitable.* You know where the fault lyes: The *Woodreeues, Surveyers, Rangers,* and other *Officers*, that should preserue it, are those that spoile for themselves, by a mutuall conniuncie, and generall conspiracie: and so it is in the *State*, it seemes a faire Apple, but it is rotten at the heart. The *externall government was neuer better, the Iudges neuer more learned*: Where then is the fault? His Maiestie resolues you: priuate *Proiects*, and *Monopolies* rob the Common-wealth, disturbe Order, frustrate Lawes, discourage Indeuour, spoile all. First, Needie persons hauing wasted and run out their owne estates in all wild and wicked courses, then inuent meanes how to worke out a liuing from the industry of other men. These run to persons in fauour at Court, and they begge the penalties of Lawes, and to provide, that whilst they keepe no Lawes themselves, they will not suffer any to be kept. *To know this*, his Maiestie saith, *He is ashamed, it makes his haire stand vpright*, as at the sight of euill Spirits: and yet these Diuels doe it without blushing, nay, with boldnesse they command it to be done, and with rigour exact a penaltie of such as doe omit it: dealing here for the King with his Loyall people, as Persecutors doe with the Saints and Seruants of God, whom they spoile, torture, and put to death, supposing therein they doe God good seruice: Or as if all men were borne to labour that they might liue idely, and wast their bodies in ryot and licentiousnesse, their estates in pride, drunkenesse, and prodigalitie, and the whole Common-wealth by their disordered liues and dissolute examples.

Thus farre that faire-promising Parliament discovered, and proceeded in a plausible and profitable course of re-  
F 4
formation,



formation ; but here our hopes on a sodaine were overcast with a Cloud , and our calme day became stormie. For his Maiestie, hauing in the beginning of that Parliament receiued the greatest testimonie of Loue and Loyaltie from the Subiect, that euer Prince had of his People, and giuing such publique and plausible testimonie thereof to the honour, praise, and encouragement of his people, as neuer Prince did before him ; and the course of this Current running smooth a long time, without suspicion of the least mutation, at last something was vnghappely or vnseasonably touched vpon which was tender, and being handled with too rough a hand for so sore and sensible a part to suffer and endure, gaue occasion to euill Instruments, then trembling vnder the Rod of seuerer reformation, to take and follow the aduantage offered, so home to the head, as thereby the Parliament was sodainly and abruptly broken vp, with the ruine of all our hopes.

Then we had time enough to see how much more easie it was *for a few*, who had the Kings *care*, to hinder, then *for many*, though they had the Kings *heart*, to helpe; and we began to obserue, *it was not good seeing of all faults at once* ; lest, making the *Offenders* more & stronger then the *Reformers*, faction should combine and vnite the guiltie, and giue them courage, out of despaire of pardon, to breake with violence, through all the Copweb toiles, that were set to ensnare them. Here began our calamitie, and lycentiousnesse breaking loose, raged the more for former restraints ; as we see a Bow starts right forth and flyes out of the hand of him that shoots, when ouerbent, and overdrawne, it breakes the hard-twisted string asunder. Vnequall conditions of grace, which carie the countenance of constraint, are deliuered with frownes, and hold no longer then

then that obedience from the Subject which is perswaded by penaltie, and exacted by tyrannie. For *Nullum violentum perpetuum*; the Superiour and Inferiour also, must worke freely, if faithfully.

Our euils grew great and sweld higher and higher euerie tyde; as waue followes waue, so woe followed woe one vpon the necke of another, euen so farre, and in such extreames, as nothing of *Alexanders* portion (*Hope*) was left vs. The particulars, What, and circumstances, How, being pointed at in my former Treatise, are not so pleasant, as that they require or admit repetition: Nay rather, *Quis temperet a lachrymis*, who can abstaine from teares that remembers them? I hasten therefore forward, to a more comfortable and acceptable report, being glad at the heart, that in such a storme, I descry Land so neere me. For here, whilst our Ship tost aloft, as high as the Cloudes, saw nothing but Rockes of ruine to light on, and we poore Passengers expected death, and in death what Fish would swallow vs & vouchsafe to be our Graue, Tombe, and the Monument of our Miserie, behold a calme, and the sweet sound of that Trumpe, which bad our hopes, and a new Parliament, arise together from the dead. This day seemed then a shadow of the *Last*, when the Arch-Angell and Trumpe shall proclame a generall Resurrection, and summon the guiltie to appeare at the Barre of Iustice, reuiuing the faithfull, to lift vp their heads towards Glorie.

Accordingly the Parliament began, *Februarie* the 19, 1623 *Stilo Anglicano*: Where his Maiestie, by a most gracious Speech, reconciled himselfe to his people, as a louing Husband to his too-iealous Wife. He acknowledged the proper vse and extent of a Parliament, in these or

the like golden Words, which before he seemed to have abridged almost to nothing, as a body not only long since dead, but now also turned to Dust, Earth, and Ashes. See the difference betwixt power incensed, and appeased.

*The proper use of a Parliament* (saith his most excellent Maiestie) *is according to the Writ, Nobiscum super arduis negotijs tractare, & consilium vestrum impendere. To conferre with the King as Gouvernor of the Kingdome, and to giue their aduice in matters of greatest importance, concerning the King and the State, and defence of the King, Kingdome, and Church.*

Ec. 25.

Accordingly his Maiestie declared, how much he had beene wronged and deluded, by dallying Treaties; when all his true-hearted Subiects saw he would, prayed he might, and prayesd God he was so profitably abused. He professeth to awake as a man out of a sweet dreame, whose wants are doubled by the delusion. He desired their councell & assistance, promising to be ruled by them, and to doe no weightie businesse without them; he intreated (who might command) their speed, since delaies were dangerous, and the spinning out of time vnprofitable; his deare-bought experience had taught him that Lesson. To trust any longer vpon promises & hopes, he intended not, but cast himselfe wholly vpon God and his people.

PROV. 21. 1

Is not this wonderfull? Doe not these words, if we had them, and could so set them downe as they were deliuered, deserue to be lodged in euerie Subiects heart? Nay doth not this manifest the truth of that which *Salomon* saith, that *The Kings heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the Riners of Water; he turneth it whithersoever he will.* Before this change none could moue him, all humane applications were as if men set their shoulders to a Rock:

Nay



Nay all endeouour this way, procured more violent and resolute opposition : But now his heart is moued by God, it moues him, and he moues them, who would but could not moue him before, wils them to make hast, and to be swift in their motion, thereby to make amends for former delaies. This shewes the King is the same to the body Politique, that the heart is to the body Naturall, the Scate and Fountaine of Motion, and so of Action.

The Parliament consult, and resolute with all speed, that both the Treaties with *Spaine*, concerning *the Prince his marriage with the Infanta Maria*, and the restitution of *the Palatinate*, should be broken off presently ; and this they giue in humbly for their heartie resolution. The King congratulates their speedie and happie Councell, in a Speech made the eighth of *March*, in words to this purpose :

*My Lords and Gentlemen all, I haue cause first to thanke God with my heart and all the faculties of my minde, that my Speech which I deliuered in Parliament, hath taken so good effect amongst you, as that with an vnamine consent, you haue freely and speedily giuen me your aduice in this great businesse. for which I also thanke you all as heartily as I can, &c.* And so proceeding to propound some difficulties, which, like a wise Prince, he desired might be considered, cleered, and remoued by their councell, he concluds thus, *Your kind carriage giues me much contentment, and that comforts me, which my Lord of Canterburie said, That there was not a contrarie voyce amongst you all ; Like the Seuentie Interpreters who were led by the breath of God. I am so desirous to forget all rents in former Parliaments, that it shall not be in my default if I be not in loue with Parliaments, and call them often, and desire to end*

*my life in that entercourse betweene me and my people, for the making of good Lawes, reforming of such abuses as I cannot well be informed of but in Parliament, and in maintaining the good Government of the Common-wealth. Therefore goe on cheerefully and aduise of these points, and my resolution shall then be declared.*

Now the chiefe of those points whercof his Maiestie would haue them aduise, was matter of mony, the summe and the meanes to raise it; which is the Sinew, yea the verie Soule of Warre, and must be provided for before any worke could be vndertaken.

And because there was something in this Speech of his Maiesties mistasted (perhaps by mistaking) his Maiestie was graciously pleased to expound and explaine himselfe more cleerly & fully by Letter, the seuenteenth of *March*, wherein he shewes:

That he was resolved both in Conscience and Honour to make an instant warre.

That he did desire to conferre with the House for the manner of the Warre, Places, and Persons.

That he did refuse to demand any present Subsidie for his debts, but desired that his former demands of one Subsidie and two Fifteenes might be added to the great businesse of the Warre.

Hereupon as a glad Eccho to such a gracious and musically explanation, the whole House of Commons resound this harmonious close and consent.

*Most gracious Soueraigne, We your most humble and loyall Subiects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, doe first render vnto your Sacred Maiestie our most dutifull thanks, for that (to our unspeakeable comfort) you haue vouchsafed to expresse your selfe so well*  
*satisfied*

satisfied with our late declaration, made to your Maiestie of our generall resolution in pursnit of our humble aduise, to assist your Maiestie in a Parliamentarie way, with our persons and abilities. And whereas your Maiestie, in your great wisdom and iudgement foreseeing that it would make a deeper impression both in the Enemies of that cause, and in your Friends and Allies, if they should not only heare of the cheerefull offers, but also see the reall performance of your Subiects towards so great a worke, your Maiestie was pleased to descend to a particular proposition, for the aduancement of this great businesse. We in all humbleness most really willing to giue your Maiestie and the whole World an ample testimonie of our sincere and dutifull intentions herein, haue vpon mature aduice and deliberation as well of the weight and importance of this great affaire, as of the present estate of this your Kingdome, the weale and safetie whereof, is in our iudgements apparantly threatned, if your Maiesties resolution for dissolving of the Treaties now in question be longer deferred, and that prouision for defence of the Realme, and of your Friends and Allies be not seasonably made, haue with a cheerefull consent of all your Commons (no one dissenting) and with a full and cheerefull consent of all the Lords resolved, that vpon your Maiesties publique declaration for the utter dissolution and discharge of the two Treaties, of the Mariage, and the Palatinate, in pursnit of our aduice therein, and towards the support of the warre which is like to ensue, and more particularly for those Foure points proposed by your Maiestie namely, The defence of this Realme; securing of Ireland; the assistance of your Neighbours the States of the Vnited Proninces, and other your Friends and Allies; and for the setting forth of your Royall Navy;



*We will grant for the present the greatest ayd that ever was granted in Parliament, to be leuied in so short a time : that is, Three entier Subsidies, and three Fifteenes, to be all paid within the compasse of one whole yeere, after your Maiestie shall be pleased to make the said declaration ; the Money to be paid into the hands, & expended by the direction, of such Committees, & Commissioners, as hereafter shall be agreed in this present Session of Parliament.*

*And we most humbly beseech your Maiestie, graciously to accept of this first Fruits of our heartie Oblation, dedicated to that worke, which we in sinceritie desire may prosper and be aduanced : And for the future to rest confidently assured, that if you shall be ingaged in a reall warre, We your loyall and louing Subiects will neuer faile to assist your Maiestie in a Parliamentarie way, in so Royall a designe, wherein your owne honour, and the honour of your most noble Sonne the Prince, the ancient renoume of this Nation, the well fare and verie subsistence of your noble and onely Daughter, and her Consort, and their Posteritie, the safetie of your owne Kingdomes and People, and the prosperitie of your Neighbours and Allies, are so deeply engaged.*

*Now their readie consent, shewed their Vnitie ; their bountie, shewed their good affection to the cause ; and their prouision and caution, to giue it by a Parliamentarie way, shewed their wisdome ; who, by looking backward and seeing how all things are drawne into President, and how power lets not goe what it gets howsoeuer it be giuen, did, for the good of the Ages to come, prouide there should not be a new forme of rayfing Moneys, inuented and added to those that are already settled and in practise. But as they were readie to part with all to his Maiestie for*

the good of his Person and Posteritie, to be expended in defence of the Church and State; so they would giue it by a Parliamentarie way, that the guift might be knowne to be theirs, and to be given freely, vpon good and mature aduise and deliberation. Which his Maiestie well obseruing and approving, knowing he dealt with a people well managed to his hand, free, faithfull, and withall intelligent of all grace that was done them, close and reserued where they saw any conueiance in the Clouds, and open-hearted and open-handed, where they beheld open dealing; He makes a free and publique declaration of his Royall resolution, the 23 of *March*, whereof before he seemed, to some of his plain-meaning and plain-dealing Subiects, a little too reserued, who could not looke so farre as he himselfe did, into those respects of State which moued him to it.

In this Speech, after he had repeated somethings in a former Discourse of his, and shewed his Reasons why he propounded the difficulties there mentioned, not to discourage his People, or incourage the Enemie, by pleading his cause, and alledging aduantages for him, and disaduantages for vs; to animate his pride and oppression, by representing his strength; and deterre vs, by a reflection of our weakenesse: but, like a wise Prince, casting and foreseeing the worst, and desiring to be armed both with Money and meanes sufficient, and with men resolved to ouercome all these difficulties, though the worst should fall out that could be objected or suspected, he proceedes to giue them thanks for their generall offer, in which they did engage themselves, their liues, & estates, to second his resolutions for warre, which he gratiouly acknowledged to be more then fortie Subsidies, and more worth then a Kingdome:

For (quoth he) the strength of a King stands (next under the protection of God) in the hearts of his People. And I must needs say in this particular, it is without example that euer any Parliament for a beginning gave a King so great a supply in so short a time to be leuied. This may well serue for a preparation. And for my part, first considering your generall offer, which is ten times more to me then all Subsidies; and next, considering that all these particulars comming from you, be as much as the people are able to pay in so short a time, being within a yeere, and as much as may be well expended; Therefore, with as much loue, and as great thanks as a louing and kind King can giue to so louing and dutifull a people, I thanke you for your offer, and doe accept it. I tould you before that I would neuer haue craued your aduice to reiect it, and so put a scorn upon you; thinke me not that man. It is true that I thinke no wise King can undertake so great a bargain, but he may well bethinke himselfe beforehand; and I hold better that a King aduise well before he take a resolution, then aduise rashly, and after repent it. Therefore my Lords and Gentlemen, I declare vnto you, as I am willing to follow your aduice in the annulling and breach of these two Treaties, both for the Match and the Palatinate. so on the other part, I assure my selfe you will make good what you haue said, that what you aduise me to, you will assist me with your wisdom and counsell, and Forces, if need be. I pray you haue a charitable opinion of me, as you are to haue of a King which hath so long ruled and gouerned you (and I may well assure my selfe with Iustice and Peace) that as I tould you before, all my forbearance hath beene for the sparing of the effusion of Christian blood, and as the most easie and probable way for recouering the Palatinate for my Children, which



it is high time I take in hand and performe. I haue beene so long delayed and paid with generals, that I dare not trust longer vnto them, which made me enioine Buckingham to make a particular relation to you of all that businesse (and I am sure that such an account was neuer before giuen in Parliament) that thereby you may know what to trust vnto. I could, in this case, haue resolved my selfe, but I thought it could not be but a strength and honour both to me, to haue the aduise of my people.

My Lords, in the latter Parliament I then declared vnto you, that I was resolved without respect of Friendship, or Match, or whatsoeuer, to haue the Palatinate one way or other; and I hope you all remember it. God is my Iudge and Sauour, I neuer had other end, and it is pittie I should euer liue to haue other end: and for my part, except, by such meanes as God may put into my hand I may recouer the Palatinate, I could wish neuer to haue beene borne. I am old, but my onely Sonne is young; and I will promise for my selfe and him both, that no meanes shall be vnused for the recouerie of it. And this I dare say, as old as I am, if it might do good for the businesse. I would goe in mine owne person, and thinke my trauell and paines well bestowed, though I should end my dayes there. For if I should spare any meanes for the recouerie of it, then let me not be thought worthy to raigne ouer you. And in good faith, I neuer resolved to liue with other mind; nay, I will say more, there was neuer any Enemie of my Son-in-lawes, with whom I talked of that businesse, or any other that I euer spake with on that side, which did not say and confesse that I had reason to haue the Palatinate, one way or othrr. And when they say so, it is a good reason that they themselues allow; and it was a good spur to me to thinke vpon it.

My Lords & Gentlemen all, thus far assure your selves, that I will goe cheerefully about to prepare all things possible for it. And as you haue given the meanes so I will employ them towards it. And in the next degree I hope you will thinke on me. But this I leaue to your own counsels & considerations: but I protest to God, a pennie of this money shall not be bestowed but on this worke, & by your own Committees: and I assure my selfe you will thinke on me for a double reason; my customes are like to fall by occasion of the warre, yet I must goe through with it one way or other, though I sell Jewels and all. In the next Session you will consider how this hath bene husbanded, and according to it, thinke what is next to be done, and how far, and it will stir you the more to enable me for the rest.

And here I will cleere you in some things, concerning doubts arising from my last speech, because I will not deal in any thing with you but freely & cleerly as a King; and seeing I haue broken the neckes of diuerse Parliaments together, I hope to deserue so well of you, and you of me, that this shall be a happy Parliament, and make me greater and happier then any King of England euer was.

In my last speech I promised, if I did accept your offer, I would follow your aduice, & would not after hearken to any Treatie of peace, but would acquaint you with it, & requir your aduice. And I likewise promised nothing should be spent of those monies, but by your owne Committees. But I desire you to understand I must haue a faithfull and secret Councell of warre, that must not be ordered by a multitude, for so my designes might be discovered beforehand: a penny of this money shall not be bestowed but in the sight of your Committees; but whether I shall send 2000 or 10000, whether by Sea or by Land, North or South, by diuersion or otherwayes

*otherwaies by inuasion vpon the Banarian or the Emperour, or  
elsewhere, you must leane that to the king. Assure your selues  
my delay hitherto was in hope to haue gotten it without a  
warre. I held it by a haire hoping to recouer it by entreatie;  
but since I see it cannot be had that way, I hope that God  
that hath put it into your hearts thus to aduise me, and into  
my heart to follow your aduice, will so blesse it, that I shall  
cleere my reputation from Obloquy, & in despite of the De-  
uil, shew that I neuer had but an honest heart. And I desire  
that God would blesse our Labours for happie restitution of  
my Children. And whosoener did the wrong, I deserued bet-  
ter at their hand.*

The next businesse they fell vpon, was for repressing  
the increase and insolencie of Papists within this Land :  
For doubtlesse they saw, that from this root, much of that  
mischiefe, which had befallne the Kings Children, first  
sprung, and was since continued. And what they and  
Religion in them had suffered abroad, from these and  
those of their Faction, would follow necessarily vpon  
themselues, and the Church at home, by this meanes, ex-  
cept their wisdomes did speedily preuent it. Neither did  
they post-pone Religion, as if the former point handled  
and concluded, had beene meere a ciuill businesse : But  
they prefer'd that first, both in respect it concerned the  
Kings Children, and was the ground of all the rest, as also  
because it was a mixed cause inuolued with Religion, and  
concerned the whole Commonwealth of Christendome  
deeply and directly ; being therefore to be prefer'd, as the  
whole before a part. Now then in the second place, they  
descend to matter of Religion and State at home : For so  
the Popes intrusion and the Iesuites policie haue mixed  
or rather confounded them, as they cannot be distinguisht



really and actually, though vocally and verbally they may. Shortly after therefore the House gaue vp this Petition following to his Maiestie.

May it please your most excellent Maiestie, we your Maiesties humble & loyall Subiects the Commons of this present parliament assembled, hauing to our singular comfort receiued your Princely resolution vpon our humble Petition to dissolue the two Treaties of the Match & the Palatinate, & hauing on our parts with all alacritie & readinesse humbly offered our assistance to your Maiestie, to maintain the war which may ensue thereupon; yet withal sensibly finding what seditious & traiterous positions those Incendiaries of Rome and professed Engineers of Spaine, the Priests & Iesuites, infuse into your naturall borne subiects; What numbers they haue seduced, & doe daily labor to make, their dependance on the Pope of Rome, and King of Spaine, contrarie to their allegiance to your Maiestie their leige Lord; what daily resort of Priests and Iesuites into this your Kingdome; What concourse of Popish Recusants (more then vsuall) are now in & about the Citie of London; what boldnesse & insolence they haue discovered, out of the opinion conceiued of the foraine patronage; what publike resorts to masse, & other exercises of the Romane religion, in the houses of Foraine Ambassadors there is daily, to the offence of your good Subiects; What preparations are made in Spaine fit for an Inuasion, the bent whereof is as probable to be vpon some part of your Maiesties Kingdomes, as vpon any other place; what encouragement it may be to our enemies and the enemies of your crown, to haue a partie, or but the opinion of a partie within your own Kingdomes, who daily encrease & combine themselves together for that purpose; what disheartning to your good and louing Subiects, when they shall see more cause of feare from their false-hearted Countymen at home, then

their professed enemies abroad; What apparant dangers by Gods providence and your Maiesties wisdom & goodnesse, they haue verie lately escaped with the no longer continuance of those Treaties upon such unfit conditions, by your ill-affected Subiects drawne upon your Maiestie and upon your Estate; they in all humblenesse offer vnto your most sacred Maiestie these humble petitions following.

First, that all Iesuites & Seminarie Priests, & all others, hauing taken orders by any authoritie deriued from the Sea of Rome, by your Maiesties proclamation, be forthwith commanded out of this Realme, & all others your Maiesties Dominions, and neither they nor any other to returne or come hether again upon pain of the seuerest penalties of the lawes now in force against them; and that all your Maiesties subiects may thereby also be admonished, not to receiue, entertaine, comfort, or relieue any of that viperous brood, upon the penaltie and forfeiture which by the Lawes may be imposed upon them.

Secondly, That your Maiestie would be pleased to giue strength and speedie charge to the Iustices of Peace in all the parts of this Kingdome, that according to lawes in that behalfe made, and the Orders taken by your Maiesties Prinie Councell heretofore for policie of State, they do take from all papists, recusants legally conuicted or iustly suspected, al such armor, gunpowder & munition of any kind, as they or any of them, haue either in their own hands, or in the hands of any other for them; & to see the same safely kept & disposed of according to the law, leauing them for the necessary defence of their houses & persons, so much as is by the law prescribed.

Thirldy, That your Maiestie will please to command all Popish Recusants, and all others who by any Law or Statute are forbidden to come to the Kings Court, forthwith upon

paine of your Maiesties heauie displeasure, and the seuer execution of the Lawes against them, to retire themselves, their Wiues and Families from about London to their seuerall dwellings or places by your Lawes appointed, there to remaine and to be confined within five miles, according to the Lawes of this your Realme; and for that purpose to discharge all the Post-licences granted unto them for their repaire hither; and that they presume not hereafter to repaire to London, or within ten miles of London, or to the King or Princes Court wheresoeuer.

Fourthly, That your Maiestie would forbid and restraine the great resort and concourse of your owne Subiects for the hearing of Masse, and for other exercises of the Romane Religion, to the Houses of Foraine Ambassadors or Agents residing here for the seruice of their seuerall Princes or States.

Fifthly, That whereas of late in seuerall Counties of this Realme, some haue beene trusted in the place of Lord Lieutenants, of Deputie Lieutenants, Commissioners of Oyre and Terminer, Iustices of Peace, and Captaines in their Countreys, which are either Popish Recusants, or Non-communicants, by the space of a yeere now past, or doe not usually resort to the Church to heare Diuine Service, nor can bring good certificat hereof, that your Maiestie will be pleased to discharge them of their Places of trust, by which they haue power in the Countrey where they liue, which is not fit to put into the hands of persons so affected.

Sixthly, That your Maiestie would be pleased generally to put in execution all the Lawes made against Recusants, and that all Iudges, Iustices, and other Ministers of Iustice, to whose care all these things are committed, may be commanded to doe their dutie therein.

Seuenthly,



*Stuently* Seeing we are thus happily deliuered from the dangers which those Treaties now dissolued, and that use which your ill-affected Subiects made thereof, would certainly haue drawne vpon vs, and cannot but of force feare lest the like may hereafter happen, which will bring much perill to your Maiesties Kingdomes: We are most humble suitors to your Maiestie to secure the hearts of your Subiects by the ingagement of your Royall Word vnto them, that vpon no occasion of Mariage, or Treatie, or other request in that behalfe from any Foraine Prince or State whosoever, you will take away or slacken the execution of your Lawes against the Popish Recusants; to which their humble Petitions proceeding from their most loyall and dutiful affections towards your Maiestie, the care of their Countreys good, and their confident assurance that they will much aduance the Glorie of Almighty God, and the euerlasting honour of your Maiestie.

They humbly beseech your Maiestie to vouchsafe your Maiesties answer.

Accordingly his Maiestie returnes this gracious answer to their petition, the 23. of April following, in these or the like words.

*My Lords and Gentlemen of both Houses, although I cannot but commend your Zeale in offering this Petition vnto me, yet on the other side I cannot but hold my selfe unfortunate, that I should be thought to need a spur to doe that, which my conscience & dutie bindes me to. What Religion I am of, my Bookes declare my profession, and behauour doe shew. I hope in God I shall neuer liue to be thought otherwise, surely I shall neuer deserue it. And for my part, I wish that*

Whether  
or no eue-  
rie Religi-  
on increaseth  
by perfe-  
ction, is a  
question.  
It is true  
that San-  
guis Mar-  
tyrum est  
semen Ec-  
clesiæ: but  
his Maiesty  
must not  
be under-  
stood as if  
he thought  
the Mar-  
tyrs of  
Rome  
(such as  
Garnet &  
Faux were  
& the rest  
are) to be  
true Mar-  
tyrs, and

that the blood of such is the seed of the Church; It may be the seed of Sarans Si-  
nogogue, & of Antichrists Empire, but not of the true Church of Christ. The true  
Religion thrives indeed by persecution, because it is of God: this was seene by  
in the daies of Queene MARY, and in France by the Massacre, and in Germanie by  
old and late cruelties vsed against the reformed Catholikes: but the Church of  
Rome is not the true Church; for it doth not thrive by persecution, but by per-  
secuting others. The Inquisition vpholds it in all places where it stands vpright; and  
that it doth not thrive by persecution, but by the contrarie, the reigne of Queene  
ELIZABETH, and of his Maiestie, doth manifest.

Queene ELIZABETH was persecuted by them, & did persecute, or rather pro-  
secute Iustice against them; whereby they decreased both at home & abroad. Our  
present Soueraigne, as his Maiestie confesseth, and as we haue seene with sorrow,  
hath bene and is persecuted by them in his Person, Profession, and Posteritie, but  
he hath not persecuted them, nor prosecuted the Law against them, but rather the  
contrarie; whereby they encrease at home & abroad; and now Exitus acta probat.

Non

it might be written in Marble, and remain to posteritie, &  
marked upon me, when I should swarue from my religion. I  
be that doth dissemble with God, is not to be trusted of men.

My Lords, for my part, I protest before God, my heart  
hath bled when as I haue heard of the encrease of Poperie,  
and I take God to be my Iudge, that it hath bene such a  
great grieffe unto me, that it hath bene as thornes in my  
eyes, and pricks in my sides, so far haue I euer bene and shall  
be from turning another way.

And my Lords and Gentlemen, you all shall be my Con-  
fessors, that one way or other it hath bene my desire to hin-  
der the growth of Poperie: and I could not be an honest  
man if I should haue done otherwise. And this I may say far-  
ther, that if I be not a Martyr, I am sure I am a Confessor:  
and in some sense, I may be called a Martyr also, As in the  
Scripture Isaack was persecuted by Ismaell by mocking  
words. For neuer King suffered more by euill tongues, then  
I haue done, and that I am sure for no other cause, and yet I  
haue bin far from persecution. For I haue euer thought, that  
no way more increaseth any religion, then persecution, accord-  
ding to the saying, Sanguis Martyrum est semen Ecclesiæ.

Now my Lords and Gentlemen for your Petition, I will not only grant the substance of what you craued, but adde something more of mine owne. For the two Treaties being already annulled, as I haue declared them to be, that necessarily followeth of it selfe which you desire. And therefore it needeth no more but that I doe declare by Proclamation (which I am readie to doe) that the Iesuites and Priests doe depart by a day: but it cannot be as you desire by one Proclamation to be out of all my Dominions. For a Proclamation here, extends but to this Kingdome. This I will doe, and more, I will command all my Iudges when they goe their Circuits, to keepe the same course for putting all the Lawes against Recusants in execution, which they were wont to doe before these Treaties. For the Lawes be still in force, and were neuer dispenced with by me, & God is my Iudge, they were neuer intended so to be dispenced with by me. But as I told you in the beginning of the Parliament, you must giue me leaue as a good Horse-man sometimes to vse the Raines, and not alwayes to vse the Spurre. So now there needs nothing but my declaration. And for the disarming of them, it is already done by the Lawes, and it shall be done as you desire it and more.

I will take order for preventing that shamefull disorder of the resorting of mine owne Subiects to all Foraine Ambassadors. And of these I will aduise with my Councell how they may be best reformed. It is true that the houses of Ambassadors are priuiledged places; and though they cannot take them out from their Houses, yet the Lord Maior, and M. Recorder of London, may take them as they come from thence, and make some of them examples.

Another point I will adde concerning the education of their children, of which I haue had a principall care, as my



*Lord of Canterburie, and the Bishop of Winchester, and other Lords of my Councell, and indeed all my Councell can beare me witnesse, with whom I haue aduised concerning this businesse. For in good faith, it is a shame that their Children should be so bred here as if they were bred up in Madrid, and at Rome. So I doe grant not only your desire, but more.*

*I am sorrie that I was not the first mouer of it vnto you, but if that you had not moued this to me, yet I would haue done it of my selfe. Now for the last part of your Petition, you haue herein giuen me the best aduice in the world. For it is against the rule of wisdom, that a King should suffer any of his Subiects to be beholding and to depend vpon, any other then himselfe; And what hath any King to doe with the Lawes and Subiects of another Kingdome?*

*And therefore assure your selues, that by the grace of God, I will be carefull that no such condition be foisted in vpon any other Treatie whatsoever. For it is fit that my Subiects should stand or fall to their owne Lord.*

*This great businesse of Religion, which is the foundation of all, being thus settled according to the votes of Parliament, and his Maiesties vowes and promises, and all men secured from marying any foraine Religion vnder the couerture of fraudulent conditions, foisted in, as his Maiestie saith, vpon a new Treatie. They then proceed to enquire into the rents & ruptures of the Common wealth. And as in the Parliament before, they reformed the Court of Conscience, and censured the Lord Chancellor, as hath beene related; So now they looke into the Exchequer, the Court of Treasure, and there their eyes were fastned vpon the supremest Officer, the Lord Treasurer, whose speedie growth, from a mediocritie to that heighth and greatnesse*

greatnesse, both of place and employment, gave him no time to make vse of former Presidents and Examples, to teach him to beware; so that he fell before he could well assure himselfe that he was vp. An Artificer that hath bene vsed from Childhood to climbe euerie day, and trained by degrees to acquaint himselfe with distances of altitude, can, without giddines, keepe sure footing, though the Stages be neuer so high: It is not so with the vnexperienced, though their braines be neuer so strong & steddy, if they, being hoodwinked, be mounted aloft, not seeing the wayes they came vp, and so vnacquainted with the steps and degrees, it is odds but they fall when their Bumble is taken from them. This was his fortune; his fault was that common errour of great Officers, who thinke they can be good Seruants to the King, though they be iniurious to the Kingdome; yea, that they are the better to the one, the worse they are to the other; when assuredly, they must be good to both, or to neither. That Improouement is a benefit to both, which is brought into the Land, and added to the common Treasure and Stocke of the State, in Bullion or any other necessarie supply, or inuented here to better our homebred Commoditie, and thereby to draw in treasure from without: but that which is gotten thorough incroachings made by either of these vpon the other, is as if the Father should rob the Child, the Child the Father; the Husband should rob the Wife, the Wife the Husband; or as if the Burgers in a Towne besieged, should sally vpon their owne Souldiers in the Out-works, or the Souldiers set to befend a place, should reuert vpon their owne Entertainers. They which take from the lawfull Libertie of the Subiect, to eeke out the Prerogatiue, weaken the Soueraigne Power, which con-

sisteth in the peoples loue, and makes the life of it more troublesome, painfull, subiect to diseases, & of no certaine continuance: they againe who pull the proper & natural Feathers from the Princely Prerogatiue, to enlarge the Peoples libertie, doe thereby open a dore to all manner of euill, which (together with licentiousnesse and disobedience) doe rush into the Common wealth, and doe also make that great bodie of Soueraigntie vnproportionable, vncomely, and not glorious enough; yea, altogether vnseruiceable to moue it selfe, either for the restraint of vice, the encouragement of Vertue, the execution of Lawes, or the vniting of Inward power against Foraine Force and Inuasion; which are the ends of Royall institution.

A Parliament therefore, where Prince and People meet and ioyne in consultation, is fit only for that weightie and important worke, in whose euen ballancing, the weale of a State doth consist. And without this Councel, the greatest Peere or Officer; yea, the greatest profest Engineere in State stratagems, may easily erre vpon either hand, many degrees from good gouernment, and so fall into an Anarchy or Tyrannie. And this large Point, was lost in his too narrow Compasse; and no wonder, for neuer any single man, no not *Salomon* himselfe, could find it.

Yet his Maiestie would not take him from the censure of his Peeres and People (as vniust Princes would haue done, who hauing need of bad Instruments, must therefore vphold them, and not suffer them to be made examples of Iustice, lest they should deterre others from the like employments, and so when they haue wills to be wicked, and to doe wrong, want meanes to effect it) but as a louing Master, to shew himselfe worthy of a better Seruant, he pleads for mercie where he might command it, yet will

not



wordenle it to all, to give it to one, but when all is done, refers him to the unsuspected equitie of that Court, willing that he should suffer, though never so great, though never so beloued, rather then the whole State.

And in this Act, he taught all Officers, euen from the Porters Lodge to the Bed Chamber, to see that they haue no protection for wrong from his power, and that there is no sure standing aloft, but by personall innocencie and integritie.

The Conclusion of the Parliament was answerable to these happy proceedings, where those Lawes made against *Blasphemie* and *Drunkenesse* doe sanctifie and season the rest, assuring vs, that though our sinnes be great and general, yea, such as deserue the punishment of Sodome: yet God hath not altogether left vs, but these are witnesses of his presence, as the Cloudie and Fierie Pillars to the Host of *Israel*; We shall not be blowne vp till these be blotted out, nor dare the *Amalekites* venter to assault our Coasts, as long as these two Hands of *Moses*, be held vp ouer vs, in praier and practise. O that we might haue been so happie to cry out also concerning the Sabaoth with *Nehemiah*, *Remember vs (O our God) concerning this also, and spare vs according to the greatnesse of thy mercie.*

Exod, 17

Neh. 13.  
22.

Thus I haue shewed from the Petitions of the Parliament, and his Maiesties gracious acknowledgment, that what I wrot in that little Pamphlet, called *Vox Populi*, was as farre short in effect of what his Maiestie now knowes to be true, as the shadow is of the substance it vshereth, or the Paper stopper is of the Shot which followeth. That which I did, was to the end that his Maiestie might haue knowne thus much before, which if he had, I know he would then haue giuen a speedie remedie as well as now.

And now in doing this, I hope I haue not shewne any disloyaltie to his Maiestie, nor done iniurie to any true and loyall Seruant or Subiect of his : except ( as the Apostle 2 Cor. 12 15. saith ) in this, *That I haue not beene slouthfull to your hindrance ; forgiue me this wrong. Nor doe I repent me of this ; for (as the same Apostle there saith) I will most gladly bestow, and will be bestowed for your Soules ; though the more I loue you, the lesse I am loued.*

To my domesticke enemies or back-friends therefore, whose ill wills I neuer deserued, except by wishing them well, & praying for them, I say with Zophar the Naamathite, I haue heard the rumour of my reproach ; therefore the spirit of my understanding causeth me to answer. And Iob 20.3 with Iob, Behold now, if I prepare me to iudgement, I know Iob 13. that I shall be iustified. Who is he that will plead with me? 18, 19. For if I now hold my tongue, I die. O that One would heare Iob 31. me ! Behold my signe, that the Almighty will witnesse for 35, 36. me ; Though my Aduersaries would write a booke against me, would not I take it vpon my shoulder, and bind it as a Crowne vnto me ?

And for foraine enemies (if I haue any that will do me so much honor as to oppose me) I must remember them of that resolution which Sylla's host shewed in Præneste, when seeing his Countreymen put to death, and yet life being offered him by Sylla, he refused it, and would needs die with the rest, saying, *He would not hold his life from the enemy of his Country : Put in the enemy of his Religion also, and I am of his mind. Let not their precious Balmes (Lord) breake my head : nor let me eat of their delicates.*

But to his Maiestie, I submit my selfe humbly in the words of distressed Iob ; not with Religious adoration, as he to God ; but with ciuill veneration, as to Gods Substi-

tute.

Nolo (in-  
quit) pa-  
triae meae  
extinctioni,  
debere  
vitam.  
Ps. 141. 4  
5.

*me. Do not these two things vnraine me, then will I not hide my selfe from thee: withdraw thy hand from me, & let not thy face make me afraid: Then call, & I will answer: or let me speake, and answer thou. How many are mine iniquities and sins? Shew me my rebellion, & my sin. Wherefore hidest thou thy face, and takest me for thineemie? Wilt thou breake a leafe drinen to & fro? And wilt thou pursue the dry stubble? For thou writest bitter things against me, and makest me to possesse the iniquities of my youth.* Iob 13. 20.

O thou that art called a God vpon Earth by God himselfe; Consider what I haue said; Consider how the truth hath beene kept from thine eares & eyes; Consider how thou dost now see it; Consider how thou hast of thy grace acknowledged it; Consider how still there is a possibilitie of the like abuse, if not in this, yet in other things that concerne thy safetie, and thy Peoples weale as much, and the Churches safetie & securitie more. Pardon that which I now write: Pardon that which is past. *For what haue I now done? Is there not a cause?* I Sam. 17 29.

*The glorie of God is to conceale a thing in secret: But the Kings honour is to search out a thing.* Prou. 25.1.

*My Son be not ashamed to say truth for thy life: For there is a shame which bringeth sinne. and a shame which bringeth worship and fauour. Accept no person against thine own conscience, that thou be not confounded to thine own decay: and forbear not thy friend in his fault: And keepe not backe counsell, when it may doe good: neither hide thy wisdom when it may be famous. Striue for truth vnto death, and defend iustice for thy life, and the Lord shall fight for thee against thineemie.* Eccles. 4. 21. Verse 28

*And Siracides, cap. 42. 1, 2, 8. Of these things be not thou ashamed, neither haue regard to offend for any person. Of* Eccl. 42. 1, 2, 8.



the Law of the most High, and his Covenant: and of iudgement, to iustifie the godly. To teach the unlearned, and the unwise, and the aged, that contend against the young. Thus shalt thou be wel instructed, and approved of all men living.

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*Proverb. 10. 12.*

*Love couereth all faults.*

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**FINIS.**

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EXOD. 8. 19.

# DIGITVS DEI.

ESAY. 59. 1.

*The Lords Hand is not shortned.*

2 TIM. 3. 8, 9.

*Now as Iannes and Iambres withstood  
Moses, so do these also resist the truth:  
men of corrupt mindes, reprobate  
concerning the faith. But they shall  
proceed no farther: for their folly  
shall be manifest unto all men, as theirs  
also was.*